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Ten Years After the Armistice

Political—

I—Effects on American Foreign Policy

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SINCE politics began it is doubtful if any other single event ever caused so great and revolutionary changes in the organized political structure of the world as those which were brought about by the World War. It is not only that three autocratic empires disappeared, but that their downfall uprooted the political inheritances of centuries. The extravagance of the Bolshevik experiment has overshadowed those lesser but still epochal revolutions which have established national liberty in the place of Habsburg bureaucracy and have installed a Socialist in Bismarck's chancellery. But as the years slip by, even the Bolshevik régime takes on more and more the sober color of reality, and the new State-system of Europe seems now equipped with those elements of stability and endurance which characterized the old régime.

It is true that the age-long struggle for representative government and political liberties has but entered another phase. The gains in this regard which seemed to lie inherent in the disappearance of Hohenzollern, Habsburg and Romanov autocracy were only partially kept, and the strong hand of efficient government supplanted in half a dozen countries the ideals of democracy. The new reactionary régime of Fascism and its imitators went much farther than the old conservatism, for it denied and cast away the instrument of self-government already attained, whereas even under the Czar the in-

strument of self-government was admitted as legitimate, however inadequately implemented. The Italian Parliament of today is not even a Russian Duma.

But these changes in the State-system of Europe were by no means the only vital consequences of the war in the field of Old World politics. The British Empire has been affected by it almost in equal measure. In 1914 it would have been impossible to conceive of an Irish or a Canadian Minister at Washington, or the British Dominions acting on an equal footing with the Government of Britain in yearly world conferences at Geneva. If it were anything else but the British Empire, one would be forced to the conclusion that it was in rapid process of disintegration, each of its six great self-governing units facing its problems of international as well as of domestic politics independently of the mother country—or almost so. The very assistance which the British Dominions brought to Britain in the war, called for and received a recognition in the settlement of the peace treaty and in the adjustment of post-war politics which has at least accentuated and increased the tendencies to political autonomy upon the part of the self-governing units. The pre-war British Empire exists no longer. The only truly imperial structure which is left is that which governs from St. Stephens or Downing Street a few widely scattered islands and

feeble or half-civilized possessions known as the Colonies of the Crown; the empire itself has become the British Commonwealth of Nations.

It is this change which is of most interest to the United States. Fascism seems likely to be but a passing phase, Bolshevism has ceased to trouble serious observers and creates no haunting fears of a world-wide revolution, and the attainment of national liberty by the Poles and Czechs and Yugoslavs is regarded by the United States as something to be noted with sympathetic interest, but from which to withhold politically any direct interference on our part. But the transformation of the British Empire, while equally outside the scope of any action or even formal expression of political interests of our own, creates a situation in the world which is bound sooner or later to be of vital importance to the United States. For these communities have begun their national existence with traditions and ideals similar to those of the United States. Not only is their inheritance similar, but their problems and their history resemble ours; they also have had as their chief task the conquest of the wilderness and the development of their raw material resources. It does not take much imagination, therefore, to foresee the time in the not distant future when, with the narrowing of the world by the conquest of time and space, the English-speaking communities may work toward the common ends of civilization with an equal emphasis upon their freedom of action as sovereign States and that cooperation which, building on the claim of rights for one's own self, acknowledges those same rights upon the part of others. It is no loss of prerogative, no surrender of initiative, no enfeeblement of sovereignty for nations to recognize the steady growth of common interests in a civilization which depends more and more upon international cooperation, and as the Commonwealth of Nations supplants the British Empire of the past, the United States will find in the existence of these great self-governing democracies an added guarantee of the fulfillment of its own political ideas.

A conservative speaker in London said recently, half in jest, that the American Revolution had been a blessing to the British Empire, for otherwise the capital of that Empire would now be Washington in-

stead of London. No such disastrous fate for either country is within the bounds of possibility, but while we go our independent ways, the changes wrought by the World War, or, at least, revealed by it in the structure and policy of the British Commonwealth of Nations, are a matter henceforth of vital interest to the United States.

So far we have approached the problem of the political effects of the war upon the United States from the outside, by contrast with other nations and by a reminder of the possible bearing of some of their history upon our future policies. When we turn from these far-reaching events to the post-war history of the United States itself, it would seem at first as if there were almost nothing to record in the way of political changes due to the war, certainly nothing comparable to what has happened elsewhere. There are no constitutional changes, with the exception of the Eighteenth Amendment, and that, although it is a major political fact in the life of our nation, seems properly to lie outside the field of this discussion. The organization of war government was rapidly dissolved and soon became a thing of history. The gigantic bureaucracy of government control which had extended over almost every phase of the economic life of the country had only external analogies with the organs of a socialistic State, for the sacrifice of individual liberty and the mobilization of resources and of labor were directed toward a single end, and the sacrifice of private interests was made under the stimulus of war-time emotions. No sooner had the end been achieved than the demobilization in government began along with that of the armed forces of the nation. But while no permanent traces were left of the great experiment of Government control, the nation had learned its capacity in this regard, and had shown to the world that it could improvise not only in the sphere of private enterprise, but in government itself. And it should be said, before leaving this matter, that the structure of war-time government was not only more quickly adopted by the United States than by the other belligerent countries, but that without the conscious imitation of their devices, or the use of historical precedent, which was almost entirely lacking, it was worked out and applied in terms which subsequent comparative study



Wide World Studio

JAMES T. SHOTWELL

has shown to be the best that has as yet been evolved for the purposes of war or of national security.

The theory of our war-time government was that the existing peace-time structure should be left substantially untouched, but that alongside it and superseding it for the purposes of war itself, there should be another set of organs under the war power of the President which would, in effect, supply him with a non-military general staff whose task was the mobilization of the entire resources of the nation. This task was so vast and so entirely different from the ordinary activities of peace-time government that separate machinery was needed for each, and where a nation attempted to put this double burden on either one the result was failure. History has not yet done justice to the statesmanship which directed the constitutional organization of American war-time government. But in the very nature of the case, this is not to be regarded as a permanent political effect of

the World War—unless the tragedy of such a war itself should be repeated. Then, it is quite clear that we should profit from these experiences. But so remote was it from the ordinary conceptions of American Government that even the generation which evolved it and carried it through on a scale unknown elsewhere, has already begun to lose even the clear memory of its achievement.

• THE PASSING OF PAROCHIAL AMERICA

But not all the great events of history even in the field of politics are those which find immediate expression through Government action. The deeper currents of public opinion are those which gain their movement almost unobserved, and with quiet but irresistible power, sweep from their moorings the prejudices and timeworn conceptions of the past and carve out for themselves new channels as they go. This is what has been happening in the United States as a result of the World War, and while it is always unsafe to anticipate the judgments of history, we doubt if any other political effect of the World War has been of greater importance than that which has begun to transform the outlook of the common citizen of the United States with reference to international affairs.

What I refer to here is the passing of parochial America. This is something more far-reaching than the issues involved in Washington's farewell address or Jefferson's first inaugural. Neither Washington nor Jefferson was parochial in outlook. The policy of abstention from the affairs of other nations may be based upon a knowledge and understanding of them; it is parochial only when it is the expression of self-satisfied ignorance. Parochial politics are those which, ignoring the outside world, rely upon inherited prejudices for the support of opinion and of policy. The distinctive mark of parochialism is not so much aloofness from the world as a certain distrust of it, a distrust which in its turn increases isolation by erecting barriers to the open understanding of the ways and outlook of other peoples. This phase of a nation's development is often disguised even in its own eyes by the chauvinism which boasts its strength while really confessing its political immaturity. The United States was

rapidly leaving this stage of its development behind before 1917. The "spread-eagleism" of the nineteenth century was no longer a dominant characteristic, because the anticipation of power had already been realized. The parochial outlook was still there, for although the idle or provocative assertions of national greatness were no longer commonly to be heard, there was still but little interest in the world outside our frontiers, in those questions which make up what is now called by the rather extravagant term, "world politics." In the last ten years the national outlook has largely changed in this respect, and, while the inherent conservatism of American foreign policies has withstood the impact of the new order of things which found expression in the League of Nations, the gathering force of growing enlightenment in public opinion has at last begun to make its effect felt in other ways. There was more than momentary significance in the nation-wide popular demand for a cancellation, or at least a radical reduction of the navy-building program of last Winter, and in the support given to the Kellogg proposal for a multilateral treaty to renounce war as an instrument of national policy.

It may seem like forcing a paradox to claim that the chief political effect of the World War upon the United States has been the passing of the parochial attitude of mind with reference to world affairs when this has been the very period in which the United States has registered its strongest protest against direct participation in world politics in the refusal to become involved in the affairs of the League of Nations and to adhere to the Permanent Court of International Justice for the very reason that the conditions attached seemed to be drawing us away from our traditional isolation. But the historian who looks for the clue to history in only outward and visible acts of policy is not likely to discover the real meaning of the events with which he deals. While there has been no lessening of the popular demand for Government action in support of the traditional policy of non-entanglement in external affairs, there has been growing up at the very same time an entirely different attitude toward other nations and their problems, and a new appreciation of the fact

that any major event taking place in distant corners of the world for which the United States has no initial responsibility whatever is almost sure to involve this country sooner or later. The parallel existence of these two points of view is nothing new in politics; it is what lies behind the British maxim of "muddling through," and is valid because politics is no more logical than life itself. In the interplay of opposing tendencies, a nation's interest is stimulated to assume responsibilities. The United States is at the present day schooling itself in the best of all possible ways to take its place as a World Power. It is doubtful if any other nation, at least prior to the World War, ever took up the task of political self-education so earnestly and seriously as has been the case in the United States during the last ten years. It is only when one carefully examines the situation that one realizes the extent of the change which has been brought about primarily as an effect of the World War, not only in the formal education of school and college, but still more in the vast process of adult education which by both the written and the spoken word affects the mass of the citizens of any alert democracy.

INCREASING INTEREST IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

The change which has taken place in public interests during the last decade cannot be measured by any statistical devices, but there are some visible signs of it in the number of new societies which have come into existence for the study of international relations. No one knows just how many of these there are in the country at the present time, but a survey made a year or so ago of those with a very considerable membership showed that there were something like 1,200 organizations for the study of problems in international politics. In 1914 there could hardly have been a tenth of that number. In addition to these new creations, the programs of existing societies which formerly had but little interest in international affairs, now tend to give them a preferred place. This is true of such nation-wide organizations as the Federation of Women's Clubs, with over 5,000,000 members, an organization which has apparently gained in strength as it has turned from

literary and artistic discussions to those of the serious business of citizenship. It is also true, but in a less degree, of the programs of the business men's clubs, like the Rotary or Kiwanis. Naturally, much of this adult education is still in the primary grade, but even that is more than had been attempted by some countries in the past which have held a world-wide empire.

What is more, this interest is at bottom not academic but practical. There has been a simple feeling of dissatisfaction at the failure to make good the high promises of the early days of American participation in the war. Only a cynic can rest satisfied with his sneer at the results of "a war to end war," and public opinion, if it is sane and healthy, is not cynical at heart. The mass of the nation feels a sense of failure which it does not willingly accept; in fact, does not propose to accept at all. The late President Eliot once put his finger upon a characteristic of America which has been too much ignored in the reactionary post-war era. It is the spirit of adventure called forth and nourished by conditions of frontier life. There has been a feeling throughout the country that somehow or other we are missing the greatest adventure of our day, which is the uprooting of barbarism in the world of international relations. Many of those who were led by one reason or another to oppose America's entry into the League of Nations, still felt the need of our participation in some such effort at "making the world safe for democracy." But because no effective way could be found outside the very thing which had been rejected, the continuing reiteration of the high ideals without the ability to realize them led most other nations to regard our protests of international morality as nothing more or less than national hypocrisy; and national hypocrisy it has been in so far as hypocrisy is the cherishing of ideals without an adequate sense of the difficulties in their achievement, or a willingness to concentrate upon a means to the end instead of upon the end itself.

Viewed on this background, one can see how the proposal for a treaty to renounce war as an instrument of national policy might be regarded as perhaps the most outstanding single result of the World War

in the political history of the United States. For here is a proposal which looks to the end to be attained rather than to the means used in attaining it. There is no attempt to state the alternatives for war, and no machinery is created to guarantee that the treaty will be carried out. But there is an insistence upon those principles which had been the inspiration of the early crusading days of our participation in the World War and had never been denied even in the discouraging days when the post-war settlements revealed how difficult they were of application.

KELLOGG TREATY TYPICALLY AMERICAN

Professor Dewey is right in claiming that this simple method of asserting a great idea—that of the renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy—is distinctively and typically American. It satisfies the demand for adventure. Clothed in such general terms as Mr. Kellogg first sought to give his proposition, without qualifications or conditions, the very breadth of the commitment made it less serious than the narrower but definite obligations of a treaty of arbitration. And yet, just as the Constitution precedes statutory law, so the declaration of this great principle of war renunciation is offered to the world by the United States in terms which will call for the strengthening of all the instruments of international understanding without formally committing the American Government to participation in the policing of the world, which has been regarded at Geneva as the prerequisite of stabilized peace.

It is in this emphasis upon the enforcement of peace that the American and the European points of view have chiefly differed. The refusal to accept the obligations of Article 16 of the covenant, which binds the members of the League to go to the help of a victim of aggression, is chiefly due to the distance which lies between us and the theatre of war. The simplest way for us to avoid war is to keep out of it; the only security of peace for Continental Europe is to prevent war altogether, for the conflagration is at the very doors of every nation. In other words, the erection of a police force is a prerequisite to the peace of Europe; the very menace of an impending war is a stimulus to peace, but, on the

other hand, it is not a guarantee of absolute abstention. The Kellogg offer seeks to translate into the terms of international morality what has become a political necessity for a community of civilized nations. But the precepts of morality are valid only in proportion to the coherence of the society in which they are to be applied. There can be no doubt that once the American proposal is adopted by the community of nations, it will be able to harmonize the American and the European points of view. The Kellogg proposal does not involve us in the League of Nations, but it may bring both the League and this nation to a new

basis of agreement by which the international politics of the future will escape what otherwise is inevitable, a renewal of the balance of power, this time not limited to a single continent, but stretching its fatal conflicts over the whole world. The alternative can easily be avoided if we first accept and ratify the proposal of today, and then with open minds proceed to build upon it so as to secure the two chief interests of our national life, the undisturbed maintenance of the institutions of liberty at home and the exercise of our full influence throughout the world for the maintenance of peace.

II—The Changed International Situation

By H. WICKHAM STEED

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EVEN at the end of a decade of peace, a survey of the political results of the war can hardly be more than tentative. Upon the major facts there is little dispute, but opinions still differ upon their meaning and their permanence. Vision and imagination, retrospective as well as prospective, are required; and, as these qualities are individual, any estimates they may inspire must reflect personal judgment.

Among the indisputable results of the war have been the impoverishment of Europe and her indebtedness to the United States. These phenomena are economic rather than political; and, though they are now of outstanding importance, they may be transient. Foremost among the political facts is the overthrow of the German, Russian and Austrian imperial systems. This overthrow involved territorial changes which, in the case of Austria-Hungary, amounted to actual dismemberment; while, in the case of Germany and Russia, it entailed the transfer of important regions to other countries. Germany lost Alsace and Lorraine, and sundry districts which were included in Belgium, Denmark and Poland, besides all the German overseas colonies. Russia lost the territories now covered by the Baltic republics and by portions of Poland and Rumania. The greater part of the former

Ottoman Empire passed into other hands. Arabia, Palestine, Syria and Iraq secured nominal or real autonomy. In Europe, Poland and Czechoslovakia were reborn, Rumania and Yugoslavia were unified, and the frontiers of Italy extended.

Apart from these and other territorial transformations, the advent of Bolshevism in Russia, of Fascism in Italy, and, most striking of all, the establishment of the League of Nations, must be enumerated, no less than the stimulation of Nationalism in China and many other parts of the world.

In estimating the importance of these changes the question arises whether they were accidental, that is to say, merely consequences of military victory which another war might efface, or whether they were the outcome of fundamental historical tendencies. My own view is that, while many details of the peace settlement were accidental and due to the play of unforeseen circumstances, its main features correspond roughly to permanent underlying conditions. As regards Europe, in particular, I hold her present political configuration less unnatural than that of "Bismarck's Europe"—which lasted less than half a century—though, before the war, it was regarded as natural and permanent.

The weakest spot in pre-war Europe lay

in the Habsburg Monarchy. My outlook on the war, its causes and its results, has long been governed by a conviction that forced itself upon my mind after the Austro-Hungarian annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina in October, 1908. By the end of 1909, when I had been living and working in Austria-Hungary for seven years, I felt that the Habsburg Monarchy was doomed, and that the main question for Europe was whether its breakdown or its dismemberment need entail a general upheaval. Even had the aged Emperor Francis Joseph ever possessed the energy and the insight to transform his realms into a kind of Imperial Switzerland on the Danube—the only means of saving them—the opportunity had already been missed. The man who, twice before in his long life, had failed to read the signs of the times and had allowed the German and the Italian unitary movements to triumph against him, could not be expected to deal constructively with the Southern Slav question, the third unitary movement that confronted him and his house. Until 1907 Yugoslav unity might have been achieved under Habsburg auspices. After the annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1908, and the capitulation of Russia to a German threat at the end of the subsequent European crisis—the true prelude to the war—it was clear that neither Francis Joseph nor Germany would be likely to stay the fatal course of events.

WORLD WAR FORESHADOWED IN 1909

This was plain to discerning eyes by the end of 1909. Professor (now President) Masaryk and others besides me then saw it. In November, 1912, when the Serbians defeated the Turks in the first Balkan war, the truth was visible to all save the purblind. Had the Turks been victorious, as the Austro-Hungarian General Staff expected them to be, the Habsburg Monarchy might have gained a further breathing space. But the Serbian victories stated the issue so patently that, before the end of November, 1912, I wrote from Vienna to warn the editor of the London *Times* that, if the Austro-Hungarian fleet should bombard the Serbian forces which, against Austro-Hungarian injunctions, had crossed the Albanian mountains and reached the Adriatic shore at Durazzo, England would

have to land an army in Belgium within ten days.

No special knowledge was needed to prompt this warning. An Austro-Hungarian attack upon the Serbians would have brought about Russian intervention on behalf of Serbia. Germany would have supported Austria-Hungary, and—as M. Clemenceau had informed King Edward at Marienbad in 1908—Germany, trusting to the slowness of Russian mobilization, would have rushed through Belgium into France. Great Britain, seeing the Germans in Belgium, would have been bound by her treaty obligations to defend Belgian neutrality. This I foreshadowed in November, 1912, as the obvious development of an Austro-Serbian conflict. An armed collision was then averted, and was averted again and again during 1913. But the underlying situation changed so little that in January, 1914, I restated publicly in London the reasons why the peace of Europe would be at the mercy of any serious quarrel between Vienna and Belgrade. Six months later the quarrel came over the Sarajevo assassinations, and the European equation worked itself out to its inevitable result.

Are there today in Europe any conditions or factors working as logically to an inexorable end as those which brought on the World War of 1914? There may be. I think there are. But I cannot pretend to be as certain of them as I was in 1909 and 1912. They are more complex, and some of them are new. Moreover, the end toward which they are working may be not war but peace.

METTERNICH'S REMARKABLE PROPHECY

Political prophecy is a thankless task. As a rule it is admitted to be prophecy only after events have borne it out. Yet it is possible to foresee events, as the case of Metternich proves. In July, 1926, on the anniversary of the Battle of Sadowa, or Königgrätz, Herr Glaise-Horstenau, the Director of the Austrian war archives, published a remarkable article in the *Neue Freie Presse* of Vienna. In it he summarized a forecast made by Metternich in exile at Brussels about 1851, fifteen years before Bismarck ejected Austria from Germany "with blood and iron." Metternich wrote that, as a consequence of Austrian

policy toward the German unitary movement after the revolution of 1848 (which had driven Metternich from power), Austria would be turned out of Germany. Then, he added, Germany would be absorbed in an aggrandized Prussia, between whom and Austria there would be formed a Central European alliance, against which a world coalition would presently grow up. A war of annihilation between the alliance and the coalition would follow, with the result that the Habsburg and the Hohenzollern thrones would fall, and Prussia would be absorbed in a German republic.

Vision and experience equal to those of Metternich would doubtless be needed to assess today the political results of the World War. In any case, his forecast serves to show that great events are not accidental, and that the shadows they cast before are visible to perceptive eyes. The hypothesis that any of the principal changes wrought by the war was due to accident is hardly tenable; and those who dwell upon the "mistake" of "Balkanizing" Europe by the dismemberment of Austria-Hungary, fall into the error of conceiving the peace settlement as the deliberate work of selfish delegates in Paris rather than as an outcome of historical forces too strong for them to control.

WORKING OF HISTORICAL FORCES

Upon this point valuable light is thrown by one of the most important documents in the fifty odd volumes of the German diplomatic records called *Die Grosse Politik*. I refer to the private letter written by the German Ambassador in Vienna, Herr von Tschirschky, to his immediate chief, the German Foreign Minister, Herr von Jagow, at the end of May, 1914. Its salient passage ran thus:

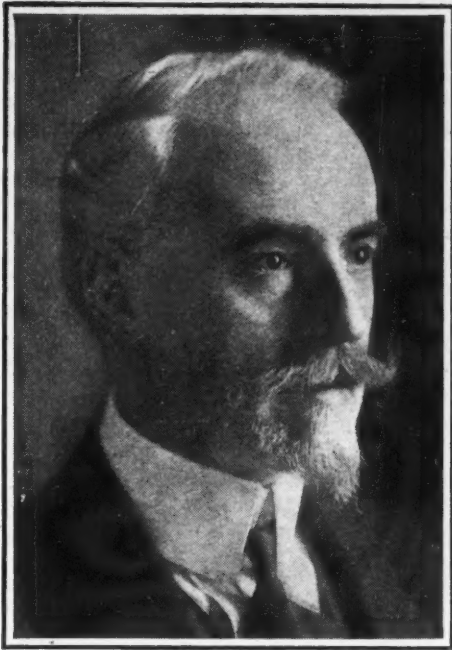
How often have I not wondered whether it is really worth while for us to tie ourselves up so tightly to this Austro-Hungarian Monarchy which is cracking and creaking in every joint, and to go on painfully dragging it after us. But, as yet, I can see no other political combination that would compensate us for the loss of the asset we still hold in virtue of our alliance with this Central European Power. But for this alliance, our policy would necessarily have to aim at the dismemberment of the Habsburg Monarchy. It is doubtful whether England would leave us a free hand to do this, even if she could be brought into a really firm relationship with us; and it is just as doubtful whether

it would be really to our advantage, in the long run, if the German provinces of Austria were added to us. It seems to me that we must let the fruit ripen yet awhile. Time may show whether anybody will be able to gather together and strengthen the divergent forces of the Austro-Hungarian lands. If not, their decomposition will assuredly be very rapid, and we shall have to adapt our policy to it.

A month later the Archduke Francis Ferdinand (to whom the German Ambassador probably alluded in saying that time would show whether anybody would be able to gather together and to strengthen the divergent forces of the Habsburg lands) was assassinated with his consort in the Bosnian capital. Yet another month and Austria-Hungary had declared war upon Serbia with the assent of Germany whose policy, which had wavered between opposition to and support of Vienna for more than a year, finally came down on the Habsburg side of the fence. "Austria must be preponderant in the Balkans against other smaller (States) at Russia's expense; otherwise there is no peace," was the Emperor William's marginal note upon a telegram sent by Herr von Tschirschky on July 24, a day after the Austro-Hungarian ultimatum to Serbia. How far Vienna and how far Berlin was to blame for thus upsetting the old order in Europe it is hard to decide. The more the blind rage of Austria-Hungary against Serbia and the vacillations of Germany are studied in the light of the German and Austrian documents, the clearer does the conclusion emerge that their conduct was not so much deliberately criminal as governed by a fatal concatenation of circumstances acting upon incompetent men. The real answer to the "war guilt" question may be given by some supreme dramatist who will gather into one compelling tragedy the threads in which destiny enmeshed the rulers and the peoples of Europe.

THREE MAIN RESULTS OF GREAT WAR

What of the future? It cannot be described irrespective of the past, though the past alone cannot determine it. Among the political results of the war I am inclined to assign the foremost places to three: (1) The republicanization of the greater part of Europe; (2) the conviction that another war would totally destroy European civili-



Wide World

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zation and that, therefore, disputes must be settled by peaceful means in and through the League of Nations or otherwise; and (3) the severance of Russia from Europe in consequence of the establishment of Bolshevism. (Fascism I regard as a passing phase of anti-liberal reaction, too barren to leave a lasting impress upon the world.)

In comparison with these three results, the differences between France and Germany, or the question of the Polish Corridor, or the possibility that the Germans of Austria may one day join the German Republic, or the friction between Italy and Yugoslavia, or the irredentist aspirations of the Magyars, are of minor importance. None of them seems likely to bring about a general war, not so much because the horrors of the late war have turned the minds of peoples toward peace, as because the professional war-makers, who took charge of the situation in Europe after the Austro-Hungarian ultimatum to Serbia on July 23, 1914, are no longer in the ascendant, while even they feel increasingly the futil-

ity of a struggle in which all the great cities of Europe might be smouldering ruins, covering millions of poisoned corpses, within a week or two of the beginning of hostilities. And yet another factor operates subtly as a deterrent to armed strife on any large scale. Bolshevist Russia is the embodiment of a politico-economic theory founded upon the Marxist analysis of capitalism and of the capitalist order of society. One of its dogmas is that capitalist society is bound, by its very nature, to engender over-production, crisis and wars, and that there can be no peace until a world revolution has uprooted capitalism and set up a universal dictatorship of the proletariat. Communist propaganda has familiarized the masses with this dogma. The outbreak of another war might persuade those masses that, since Marx had been right in his diagnosis, he was right also in his prescription. Hence, the idea of peace, at least in its negative form as non-war, has taken a strong hold upon the more intelligent sections of European society. They are learning to look upon the League of Nations as potentially the most conservative institution in the world.

Fear lest the Kellogg Peace Pact enfeeble the League of Nations and the Locarno treaties, which were and are looked upon as the chief bulwarks of peace, lay at the root of the objections it encountered in Europe. When once those objections had been removed, it was welcomed both as an additional guarantee of peace and as a pledge of a renewed association of the United States with European countries for a common object.

PSYCHOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF KELLOGG PEACE PACT

Whatever may be the financial and economic effects of a formal resumption of American interest in world peace, the psychological consequences of the Peace Pact may be far greater. Incontestably, the League Covenant and the Locarno treaties are mainly directed against the peril of war, and they threaten aggressors with punitive sanctions. To this extent they appear to look upon war as the major probability. The Peace Pact tends to reverse this order of thought and to cause peace to be looked upon as the major probability—a

shifting of emphasis that may, in course of time, yield revolutionary results. In large measure the structure of society in Europe has been built up upon the obligation and expectation of military service. Patriotism has been conceived in terms of fighting. Social and political loyalties have been determined by the obligation of self-sacrifice in war. Heavy taxes have been levied, so that the State might be strong on land and sea. A peculiar prestige has surrounded the "fighting services." In a word, social "values" have been measured by the standards of prospective international strife.

If this standard no longer applies, some new standard must take its place. Human minds are rarely satisfied with negations. The conception of peace as non-war must give way to a conception of peace as a positive condition, a condition to be fostered and implemented by constructive endeavor. Within a community merit may come to be judged by the efficiency of its members in promoting its welfare, in putting it ahead of competitors in the arts of peace; and internationally the struggle may be for pre-eminence in progressive civilization. In Europe tariff barriers are likely to be lowered or removed in proportion as the protection of special industries for eventual conversion to war purposes is seen to be needless; and political frontiers may cease to have greater significance than English county borders or the divisions between the States of the American Union have today. The federation of Europe may become a reality.

These are imaginable results of the war. They are not yet positive, and the current of events may seem, at times, to run away from them. Yet, looking ahead at the end of the first decade of non-war, they seem to me to be not only possibilities but certainties of the future.

HEALTHIER POLITICAL STATUS IN EUROPE TODAY

How distant or how near that future may be no man can say. Europe has changed profoundly since the signing of the peace treaties, and another decade may witness changes deeper still. Eddies of reaction, like the Fascist episode in Italy, hardly count in estimating the strength of the main stream. Metternich's prophecy that

Prussia would ultimately be absorbed in a German republic showed so fundamental a sense of the underlying European tendencies as to suggest that he, who had spent his life as an agent of reaction, knew he had worked in vain. Neither in France nor in Great Britain is there any likelihood of reaction today, and Germany seems to have become definitely republican.

The turning point in Germany's development was reached when she decided to enter the League of Nations. Her entry was at once a voluntary acceptance of the first twenty-six articles of the Treaty of Versailles and a tacit avowal that Bismarck's Europe—of which Metternich foresaw the end before it had begun—was a thing of the past. During the war Germany had lived in isolation, breathing the carbon monoxide of her own propaganda. For six years after the peace her moral isolation was scarcely attenuated. With her adoption of the Dawes scheme, her adherence to the Locarno treaties and her entry into the League of Nations she emerged into the sunlight and found the world outside very different from what her people had imagined it to be. If Great Britain, France and Germany stand together on a basis of a constructive democratic peace, European civilization may yet contribute powerfully to the progress of the world.

Indeed, as a result of the war, Europe is now healthier than she has been for centuries. The liberation of subject peoples like the Czechs, after three centuries, and of the Poles, after 150 years of servitude, was no accident. It was a remedy for deep-rooted disease. Simultaneously, the self-governing Dominions of the British Empire became (in the words of the famous Report of 1926 on Inter-Imperial Relations) on the same footing as Great Britain, "autonomous communities within the British Empire, equal in status, in no way subordinate one to another in any aspect of their domestic or external affairs, though united by a common allegiance to the Crown, and freely associated as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations." How the Dominions will cooperate with each other; how they will, severally and jointly, cooperate with the United States; how Great Britain will solve her own special problem of being at once a European Power and *primus inter*

paes in a world-wide confederation are questions not lightly to be answered. The war stated them in new terms, just as it stated anew the problem of Europe as a whole. I have enough faith in the inner potency of democratic civilization—conceived as a system under which individual

rights connote individual responsibilities—to believe that this restatement contains a valid pledge of success in solving them. In the eyes of posterity, the war, which was fought by millions as a war to end war, may appear to have been justified by its results.

III—The Execution of the Peace Treaties

By DAVID HUNTER MILLER

LEGAL ADVISOR TO THE AMERICAN COMMISSION AT THE PEACE CONFERENCE; JOINT DRAFTSMAN OF THE COVENANT OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS; AUTHOR OF *The Drafting of the Covenant*

PERHAPS no international meeting of modern times has met with such severe and bitter criticism as did the Peace Conference of Paris within a year or two after its results were known. The treaties of peace were attacked in England, disparaged in France, disliked in Italy, hated in Germany and rejected by the United States.

A decade is too short a time to permit a finally just judgment on the results of the Peace Conference; but as a preliminary to any judgment, now or later, we must try to turn our minds back and look at the circumstances that surrounded the meeting of the conference, the international situation and outlook as it then appeared, leaving aside all thoughts of hindsight.

Some weeks before the armistice with Germany of Nov. 11, 1918, the brilliant campaign of General Allenby from Arabia up to Damascus had destroyed the Turkish armies; Bulgaria had collapsed in the advance north from Saloniki; and earlier in the same month armistice agreements with the Austrian and Hungarian forces had been signed by the Italian High Command; the defeat of the Central Powers was complete.

The armistice with Germany was very harsh. The German forces were to retire east of the Rhine; an enormous amount of war material was surrendered; the whole German fleet was handed over; but the German prisoners of war were not released and the German blockade was continued.

Severe as those terms were, and satisfactory as they were to Marshal Foch, there were some distinguished authorities who

then thought they did not go far enough and that the war at least *might* recommence. In part those doubts were due to the uncertainties of the political situation, which could hardly be exaggerated. A revolution had taken place in Germany; the former Kaiser, the man who ran away after signing an ambiguous abdication, had fled to Holland; there was no effective Government in Germany, and whether there would be any such Government, or any Government at all, to sign a peace treaty was doubtful. Predictions that Germany would, like Russia, go Bolshevik, or split up into separate States, or both, were freely made, and they had at least some basis.

Further east in Europe affairs were in an even worse condition. The Austro-Hungarian monarchy had collapsed; Russia was in chaos; the Baltic countries were in a state of upheaval, and most of the Governments that existed over vast areas inhabited by millions of people were unstable in tenure and uncertain in extent.

Even more important, perhaps, were the economic conditions in Europe, which were deplorable. In England for months after the armistice ordinary life lacked some of the ordinary comforts; people read by candlelight and shivered before meager fires because ordinary light was cut off and fuel was scarce or unobtainable. In France, where the Winter climate was more bearable, the interruption of traffic which the partial demobilization after the armistice had brought about had made conditions in some respects worse than they had been during the fighting; such a common food as cheese was unobtainable in Paris. As in

England, sugar was a rare luxury and bread was rationed by a system of tickets.

This was the condition for months after the armistice in the countries that had won the war. East of the Rhine and east of Italy there were literally scores of millions of people with insufficient clothing and not enough food. The whole transportation system of the world had been so diverted to war purposes that months were to elapse before there could be much thought again of ordinary commerce.

No peace conference ever met in such a situation. Furthermore, no peace conference had ever had so many and such unprecedented problems to solve. A great part of the map of Europe was to be redrawn; the German colonies in Africa and possessions in the Pacific were to be disposed of; the Turkish Empire had passed out of existence in its previous form; an adjustment was perhaps to be made with Russia, and the costs of the war to some extent were to be saddled on Germany—the reparations question, as we now call it; and, while this list is a very partial one, it would be more than incomplete if I omitted the program of Woodrow Wilson for the establishment of some new system of world order which would make impossible another World War, with its twenty millions of dead, i. e., the proposal for a League of Nations.

All this that I have said, and much more, was the task to be done within a few months after the Armistice, with the economic situation such as I have described and in the midst of the bitter hatreds that had grown up since 1914. Perhaps the only certainty in such an uncertain situation was that the treaties of peace would be disliked in at least some of the countries that signed them; and indeed one of the shrewdest comments on those treaties is that of an English writer who said that they must have been generally fair because they were so generally unpopular.

AMAZING CHANGES OF LAST TEN YEARS

Brief as is a period of ten years in international relations, yet the change in the political, social and economic conditions of Europe since the end of the war is little short of marvelous. Despite the pangs and attendant troubles of reconstruction and the inevitable mistakes and even failures during

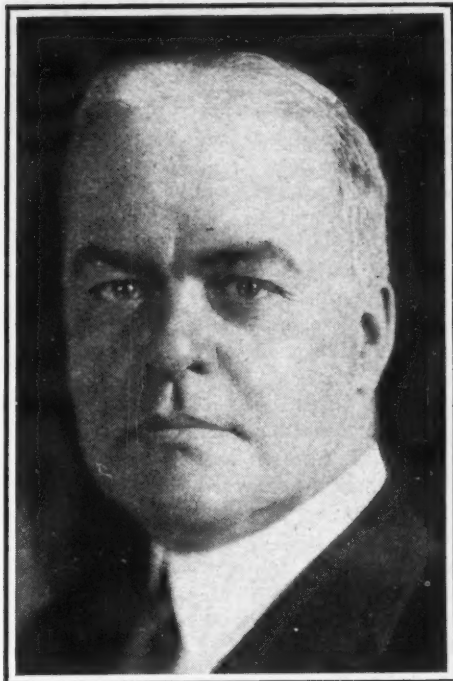
the interval, we now, generally speaking, see stable governments, balanced budgets, gold currencies, trade ahead of the pre-war basis, and a general uplift in the average standard of living. There are, of course, reservations to be made to any such general statements, but, on the whole, they are true of most countries of Europe. Even in Russia the fanatic oligarchy in control has made progress to the extent that it has abandoned its absurdities.

With all this has come a notable, though by no means complete, lessening of the war hatreds and a more solid movement for international peace than was ever before known in modern times.

It would be highly absurd to attribute this change in its entirety to the peace settlements; yet the equal absurdity of attributing the ills of post-war Europe to these same peace settlements was a very common one. Omniscience would not have sufficed to make the return from the tragedies and ruin of more than four years of war anything but slow; omnipotence would have been required in addition.

It is vital here to realize that there are two factors in any peace settlement. One of these is the written treaty; the other, hardly less important and sometimes even more important, is the spirit and manner in which the agreement between the victorious and defeated parties is carried out. Americans may well think with regret, if not a more bitter feeling, of the reconstruction period that followed the Civil War; and similarly some results of the Peace Conference fell short, not so much in the peace treaties as in their execution.

The instance here that is most obvious is the reparations question. Owing to the opposition of President Wilson, the wildly impossible demands of the British and the French on Germany were omitted from the Treaty of Versailles. The theory of the treaty, aside from some immediate and temporary provisions, was to make a global settlement two years later. This theory broke down. The United States, then the only power among the victors able to consider the matter without bias, absented itself from the decision; so the settlement dictated by the Allies in 1921 was not dictated by reason, and, to the extent that it was reasonable, was obscured by clauses



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DAVID HUNTER MILLER

that made its terms seem even more drastic than their reality. The Dawes plan might as well have been adopted then as three years later; and indeed, as Dr. Karl Bergmann, who was the German representative before the Reparations Committee, has pointed out in his book, *History of Reparations* (Houghton, Mifflin Company, 1927), the German proposal of 1921, though then brushed aside, was substantially equal to the Allied demands of the time; and, I add, it would probably more than equal the results of the Dawes plan.

Some of the momentous consequences of the World War seem now to have been so inevitable as to be almost outside of present discussion, even in a review of the peace settlements. Indeed, certain of them, looking back, are seen to have been self-accomplished and not in any way due to negotiations or to treaties; others are so accepted as final that they appear predestined and not at all arranged by diplomats or statesmen.

The collapse of the ancient Austro-Hungarian monarchy, a turning point of cen-

turies in the history of Eastern Europe, took place in October, 1918, months before the meetings of Paris and even before the armistice with Germany. It would have taken far more than a peace conference to set up again that impossible anomaly of governments.

NEW STATES RESULT OF "SELF-DETERMINATION"

The States that rejected the control of the Soviets and took independent status, Finland, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, we may properly regard as the result of self-determination in action; they themselves alone were responsible for their existence rather than the writers of the peace treaties.

Moreover, even among the territorial arrangements made at Paris, there are some that are now so settled in fact as to seem more remote in time. The question of Alsace-Lorraine has ceased to exist; we think of it today almost as we think of Calais; and Shantung, about which so many written and verbal tears were shed, has gone back again to China, just as the delegates of Japan at Paris said to President Wilson that it would.

Ten years ago there was no principle more generally accepted as fundamental for the peace settlements than self-determination. The idea has much history back of it, but never before had it seemed so fully to have come into its own. Both the Allies and the Central Powers professed belief in it; it found popular acceptance among civilized and uncivilized peoples; its effects were widespread, even in Asia and in Africa; we have by no means seen the end of them.

It was on this principle of self-determination that the frontiers drawn in the Peace Conference purported to be based. No one would ever contend that it would be possible to draw boundaries solely according to the rule of local popular sentiment; in many districts populations are too mingled for this to be physically possible; and in all cases economic and other considerations must also be taken into account; and in some they may be controlling.

The principle of self-determination certainly had a very real application in the peace treaties, taken as a whole; the various plebiscites which were held are an instance of this; and it may be remarked here

that the result was surprisingly in favor of the side that had lost the war; and certainly the political and ethnographical maps of Europe more nearly correspond now than at any previous time in modern history.

Opinions do, and doubtless always will, differ as to the soundness of the principle itself; doubtless its development is yet only in its infancy; but thus far the weight of evidence is strongly in its favor; certainly its application in Europe has made for stability and progress. There are, it is true, not a few episodes and circumstances of the past ten years that tend toward the other view; but the test is a comparative one; and the conclusion must be that on the whole the world is better off with the principle of self-determination reasonably applied than it would be without it.

A part of the same question is of course the problem of Minorities. The so-called Minorities Treaties made an effort to aid the solution of this problem internationally. Final success in this regard can come, however, only from national adoption of fair treatment; and while there are already some striking instances of this in Europe, there still remain glaring examples of its opposite.

TERRITORIAL PROBLEMS STILL UNSOLVED

Of more immediate interest than accepted settlements are regions where, despite the peace treaties, territorial problems are still open. A minor instance concerns the frontiers of Hungary which recent propaganda has brought forward; some rectifications here may become a possibility; but after, and only after, a real acquiescence on the part of the Hungarian Government in the *status quo* and abandonment of any wild dreams of "historic Hungary."

Of more consequence is the question of *Anschluss*, the union of Austria with Germany. This was not, as is often supposed, forbidden in specific terms by the Treaty of Versailles, but was left open for the future, as its accomplishment is permissible with the consent of the Council of the League of Nations, meaning specially France and Italy. High politics outweighed self-determination here; though as a temporary measure after the war, even assuming the desire of the two countries for the union, which is still very doubtful as to

each, the provision is defensible; but whether or not it can last is for the perhaps distant future.

The other region of uncertainty lies to the east of Germany; Danzig, the Polish Corridor and Upper Silesia. East Prussia is cut off from the rest of the Fatherland; Danzig, a German city, is largely under the control of Poland so as to give her, with the Corridor, access to the sea; and the division of Upper Silesia, rather arbitrarily made in 1921 by the League of Nations after a plebiscite, gave to Poland a portion of that province. Not even at Locarno was this settlement accepted as a finality by Germany; economically it has worked badly on the whole. With concurrent good-will on both sides, thus far lacking, it might perhaps be made workable; but revision is still a possibility, although it must be admitted that the development of the port of Gdynia and the corresponding extension of Polish railways in the Corridor are creating there a new sort of *status quo* quite different from that considered at Paris.

One of the new international arrangements set up by the Peace Conference was the mandates system. The former German colonies and some parts of the former Turkish Empire were put in charge of other countries, with the welfare of the inhabitants and not the profit of the mandatory State as the chief aim. The principle of trusteeship for peoples in varying stages of civilization, or lack of it, was settled. The system as a whole was placed under the supervision of the League of Nations, and in different forms it covers regions as diverse and as far apart as the Cameroons, Iraq and Samoa.

BENEFITS OF MANDATES SYSTEM

In general, and notwithstanding some highly deplorable events, the mandates system has worked well and tends to work better. While it by no means approaches perfection, the necessary publicity as to its failings is of the greatest influence. It has at least gotten away from the theory of national selfish control of such regions, without attempting an impossible international control. The international responsibility of the mandatories has even a tendency to bring up the level of colonial administration elsewhere.

The two individuals most responsible for the establishment of the mandates system were President Wilson and General Smuts, and, while the result was a compromise which adopted fully the views of neither, the welfare of millions of helpless people, now and in the future, was advanced when the Peace Conference adopted the system.

The only forecast that is possible here is for a continuance of the mandates system with an increase of self-government in the regions affected and even a gradual approach to independence of some of the peoples concerned. Any discussion of a redistribution of the mandates, particularly so as to include Germany as one of the mandatory Powers, is at least premature; and it is interesting to note that there exists in Germany a considerable and apparently growing feeling against the assumption by that country of any such responsibility. Various mandates have proved to be a very real burden, financial and otherwise, on the mandatory States; the experiences of the French in Syria and of the British in Iraq, among others, have shown that the Power in control may have an ungrateful as well as a highly unprofitable task.

Looking backward at the Peace Conference, the most incredible of its achievements, as well as undoubtedly its greatest, was the creation of the League of Nations. After these ten years it can now be said that this institution is as permanent and as certain of its future as any political

organization can be. That this is so, despite the rejection of the Versailles Treaty by the United States in 1920, seems now possible only because it happened; certainly almost no one then thought that the League of Nations, without the United States as a member, could continue to exist; a more severe test of the necessity of the idea is unimaginable.

By a strange irony of history, the League of Nations, of which Woodrow Wilson was the founder, has become, without United States membership, a fundamental part of the foreign policy of at least three great powers of Europe; it is regarded by most of its other members as equally vital; indeed, it is impossible to see how the world could now carry on its international affairs without the League; the recurrent conference, the peaceful settlement of disputes and cooperation in international relations generally have become the machinery of the world community; and that machinery is becoming more and more of use, even by non-members of the League, notably in the United States; indeed, the Peace Pact of Paris is, in effect, though not in form, a treaty between the United States and the League. The universality of the League of Nations has not yet been attained; but it is coming nearer, for it depends merely on the continuance of the League itself.

The peace settlements had in them some parts of error and failure; but also their share of foresight and of wisdom.

Economic—

The Consequences of the War to Industry

By BERNARD M. BARUCH

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DURING THE WAR; AMERICAN ECONOMIC ADVISOR AT THE PEACE CONFERENCE

“WAR,” says Draper in his *History of the Intellectual Development of Europe* (vol. I, p. 339), “makes a people run through its phases of existence fast.” The World War, involving directly or indirectly the whole of Western civilization, worked powerfully toward the acceleration of all the tendencies characteristic of that civilization.

Even before the war, economic systems were becoming steadily more cosmopolitan, in spite of nationalistic political tendencies world-wide in scope. The Franco-German potash cartel and the various attempts at an iron and steel cartel taking in German, French and Belgian operators, show how powerfully this economic cosmopolitanism works even across boundaries that re-

cently were contested in the fiercest and most destructive conflict in history.

In considering the obvious decline of British trade we shall find the war an accelerator of tendencies rather than a creator, for long before 1914 the export and shipping supremacy of Great Britain had been threatened by the development of industries in countries that had been Britain's best customers, such as India, China and Latin America. Moreover, the increasing use of hydroelectric power in industry and the employment of fuel oil in both industry and shipping constituted a growing menace to British coal exports. For over half a century coal had furnished a reliable staple for the tramp freighters which made up the bulk of British shipping and had given England a distinct manufacturing advantage.

The war cut off industrial exports from Germany altogether, and greatly restricted such exports from England. As a consequence, those markets of both of these countries which had depended on imports had to look for new or self-contained sources of supply. Throughout the world new factories were established and people learned to make more things for themselves. The prohibitive price of coal gave a great stimulus to the development of hydroelectric power and to the use of oil and other substitutes for coal, notably the lignites in Germany.

Perhaps the most striking example is afforded by the change in the position of the United States in world finance. This change, too, has been the acceleration of a tendency already begun. Before the war the United States was a debtor nation; since the war she is a creditor nation with enormous and steadily increasing foreign investments. But long before the war the rapid increase in the productive power of American industry and the consequent increase in capital accumulation pointed to the approach of an era in which a surplus of American capital would seek investment abroad. Foreign investment was, in fact, going forward on a considerable scale, especially in Canada and Latin America. In time, even had there been no war, the volume of American investments abroad would have surpassed the volume of foreign investments here, and we should have be-

come a creditor nation. The war, with its overwhelming need of credits for the financing of purchases of materials, munitions and other supplies, forced the return of our securities and the extension by America of enormous additional credits, thus improving our position with a rapidity and to an extent not possible in peace, although peace would surely have altered our position, in the same direction and perhaps to an equal degree, in some decades of time.

An outstanding effect of the war was to invoke a tremendous increase in the production of such basic and fundamental commodities as iron, coal, copper, zinc, lead, wheat, meat and other foodstuffs.

Because of the recurring shortage, now in one material, now in another, a heavy premium was laid upon the discovery of new sources of supply. Potash was sought in American saline lakes, and an impetus was given to its recovery in by-product coke ovens. Nitrogen fixation plants were built, and especially in Germany the progress toward liberation from sole dependence on Chilean sources of supply was rapid; in America much progress was made in the same direction. There was a great development of zinc sources in the Orient, especially in Japan, and exploration for metals in South America was advanced with great energy and effect.

FOOD AND LABOR SUBSTITUTES

Along with the search for new sources of raw materials there was carried on an intensive study of possibilities of substituting materials or products that were relatively plentiful for those that were scarce or inaccessible. Every one ate war bread, made with various substitutes for wheat flour, or substituted an increased consumption of perishable vegetables for staple foods. Tens of thousands of tons of tinplate were supplanted by paper cartons; various substitutes for lumber were brought into use; non-ferrous metals were supplanted in innumerable instances by iron and steel; substitutes were found for cotton, wool, leather, building materials, and, in some uses, rubber was supplanted by synthetic products. It is impossible to gauge the intangible effects of these developments, but they were very great and have profoundly affected the post-war economic pattern.



Underwood & Underwood

BERNARD M. BARUCH

Something analogous was going on in the field of labor, and on a very wide scale. Skilled labor was replaced by "diluted" or unskilled labor; the labor of men was replaced by that of women and children, and the necessity for quantity production resulted in a great replacement of manpower by machines. In the field of industrial production the effect of these causes can be measured with fair accuracy by the increase in production "per man," which, as every student of the subject knows, has advanced remarkably with consequent benefit to all people.

The close of the war was marked by a recession from many of the advanced posts of war industry. Upon the reappearance of the staple product, a host of substitutes went out of use and are now forgotten. Yet after all allowance for such recessions, the world commands now many more sources of material and employs many more substitute materials than it would have done without the experience gained in supplying the insatiable demands of war.

Manufacturing capacity was increased enormously throughout the world. Passing by the obviously tremendous increase in

plant capacity in America and Western Europe, there was a rapid development of textile industries in China and India, Argentina and Chile, and a considerable development wherever else the material and the local or the foreign market were available. Great Britain's colonies, and notably Canada, learned to manufacture much that they had previously bought from the mother country.

After the Armistice production had increased so greatly that many plants in every country had to be closed down, and an even greater number were forced to work part time or irregularly. Yet when the storm of post-war competition cleared away it left the successful manufacturing capacity more widely distributed through the world and more advantageously located with regard to transportation and markets.

Agricultural production responded more sluggishly to the increased demands of war. Nevertheless, the increase in production, especially in American wheat and cotton and in West Indian sugar, was remarkable. After the war the situation was one of serious overproduction and depressed prices. Readjustment has proceeded slowly through the migration of millions of farmers to the industrial cities. Yet the impetus to the use of improved machinery with a view to cutting costs has continued, with the result that American agriculture produces 15 per cent. more of wheat, cotton, meat, dairy products, and so forth, than it did before the war, with 15 per cent. less labor engaged in agriculture. For the American farmer the result has been destructive, although, for the world at large, it has marked the greatest advance in the economical production of foodstuffs that has occurred in any decade of time.

INDUSTRY MOBILIZED COLLECTIVELY

The appearance of new materials, substitutes, new sources, new facilities and new expedients was simply a product of an enlarged demand and a restricted supply such as the world must eventually contend with as population multiplies, natural resources fail and old methods become inadequate. The wartime development was an acceleration of a normal process. It yielded rich fruit not only in what it produced but also in the blind alleys it explored and marked

for future generation to avoid, and in the new sources it discovered, used a while, sealed up, labeled and left for future use.

Early in the war it was recognized that the individualistic scheme of economic organization, however desirable politically and however effective in time of peace, would not stand the stress of war. Industry had to be mobilized and induced to work under a collective scheme. For the greatest efficiency, some central organization had to determine the allocation of orders, materials, fuel, power, labor, credit to the various industries and the various plants in each industry. Trade secrets, managing skill and whatever else had been jealously guarded by individual enterprises had to be pooled.

At the time when the United States came into the war the economic and military situation of the Allies was grave. The United States represented the last reserve of materials, munitions, money and men. It became the more imperative to mobilize the industrial resources of America thoroughly.

This mobilization proceeded haltingly at first, with no clear warrant in law or deliberately adopted policy. But by March, 1918, a policy had been laid down by the President which made possible a centralized control of all the economic resources of the United States. The war came to an end before this control was complete, but not before it had effected profound changes in the spirit and method of American industry.

One of the first tasks of mobilized industry was to create the most advantageous possible distribution of production. In the period before America entered the war there had been a haphazard, if highly concentrated growth of war industries in certain sections, producing threatening congestions in transportation, overloading of facilities and shortages of power, fuel and labor. By a pooling of information as to orders and conditions of production and a control of demand, it became possible to effect a more rational allocation of work to be done.

Control of the situation required the adoption of definite specifications and standards, and these, in turn, served greatly to increase the efficiency of production. For example, where many types of wagons or

trucks had been produced before, a few types embodying the best features of all were substituted, thus stimulating quantity production, with all the consequent economies of time, money and labor. This process was carried into many other fields with far-reaching effect on both war and post-war production.

This tendency toward standardization, simplification and machine production of quantities in mass at low cost is perhaps the outstanding phenomenon of our post-war industry. Though we have a much higher labor cost it has enabled us to compete to advantage in the markets of the world, has challenged the attention of producing countries of Europe and has induced attempts at imitation to such an extent as to evoke the phrase "Americanization of industry." On the other hand, there is already some revolt at home against excessive standardization, coupled with a very effective domestic demand for more attention to style and beauty in the products of our factories.

INDUSTRIAL GROUPINGS

Most important of all in its effect on our general economic pattern was the collection of the various industries into powerful and highly integrated groups. For purposes of more efficient production and distribution, the effective pooling of information and energy and the elimination of waste, each industry was organized as a unit under Government regulation. The effect of this expedient was an immediate and very marked increase in efficiency, a constantly lowering cost and a generally beneficial result of far better public service at a much decreased price. The public was prompt not only to recognize the beneficial effect of this increased efficiency, but also to question whether earlier and stricter readings of the anti-trust laws were not subversive of the public interest. The public began to ask: "Shall we have the Sherman Anti-Trust law, with its uneconomic prohibitions and unnecessary losses, or shall the Government take a new attitude toward business, permitting, while strictly controlling, larger groupings as does the Interstate Commerce Commission with the transportation industry?"

Among the more important industrial

groupings the idea of the so-called super-power systems was born during the war and has now become the lustiest of infants presenting new economic and social problems.

This sweeping tendency of industrial and commercial enterprises to coalesce in increasingly larger groups is one of the most remarkable incidents of post-war economic history. Its results in lower costs, better products, improved distribution and a swifter and surer service are hardly questioned, and when we reflect that all of this improvement has occurred in the face of a rapidly growing population and a civilization of constantly increasing complexity we can conjecture that the war-given acceleration to the normal pace of peace-time development was, in this case at least, none too rapid.

The war placed a great strain upon the transport facilities of every country, but especially of the United States, where the various railway systems and other agencies of transportation had developed under highly competitive and individualistic impulses. Early in the war it became necessary for the Government to take over the railways and operate them as a single system with pooled rolling stock and personnel. Return of the properties to private management did not restore the pre-war attitude on the part of either the companies or the public. The sense of the public necessity for adequately systematized railway services has remained active, and will no doubt remain active until much closer coordination of railway services is effected.

RISE OF MOTOR AND AIR INDUSTRY

Undoubtedly the war, with its unprecedented demands for transportation, produced considerable improvements in the technique of motor production. What is much more important, it habituated millions of men to a sense of the vital importance of means of speedy travel and transport by highway and of the effectiveness of the automobile and motor truck to that end. It thus helped to create the demand to which the recent great development of the motor and air industry is a response. Furthermore, the war established definitely the necessity, usefulness and practicability of the airplane, the airship and the wireless, which are now having such a profound

effect upon the development of the world and are knitting its far-flung parts closer together.

On the side of finance the war taught every Government engaged in it that the supply and control of credit is an absolutely vital function. The United States, benefiting by the observation of Allied experience, adopted the most drastic policy of all and placed rigorous limitations upon the use of credit for less essential purposes, in order to devote the whole credit power of the country to the uses of war.

In the course of war control of credit many things were learned as to the conditions of credit organization. The pre-war conceptions of the necessary relations of volume of credit to volume of reserves gave way to more flexible conceptions of the relation of volume of credit to the general business condition. The war taught the nations how to do a much greater volume of business on a given reserve of gold. Indeed, the interallied mobilization of gold has continued since the war and promises to form the basis for a profound improvement in international finance. In the United States, grouped about the nucleus of our Federal Reserve, we have a credit organization of greater flexibility, soundness and stability than the world has ever seen.

The great war loan campaigns created a new attitude toward saving and investing among the masses of our people. Hundreds of thousands who had never before held in their hands any kind of security were impelled by patriotism to invest in Liberty bonds and to hold them as a permanent part of their possessions. Thus a widespread habit of investing in securities was created. From Liberty bonds it was only a step to State and municipal and railway securities and from these to industrial securities. Today the ownership of securities is incomparably more widely distributed than at any time before the war. Before the war it was at least a popular conception that our great corporations were merely masks for the ownership of all our principal facilities by a wealthy and supposedly sinister few. Today the American people generally own largely these great corporations which represent their genius and their activities. This ownership has revolutionized the popular attitude toward corporations. There is per-

haps no single circumstance in post-war development, which has done more to increase and secure the solidarity of our economic and social structure.

In finance there has been a marked centripetal tendency of money into great reservoirs represented by the gigantic industries and commercial and financial establishments of post-war development, with all these vast systems grouped about and dependent on a Federal control of the whole fiscal system—the Federal Reserve Board. But, on the other hand, we find an unprecedented dissemination of the beneficial interest in these vast accumulations of wealth among the population of the whole country through ownership of the securities which represent it. The whole pattern spells, of course, a marked departure from the individualism of the nineteenth century toward a complex collectivism which cannot fail to have a profound effect upon every aspect of our national life.

The mobilization of industry and the pressure for improved methods of production and for the discovery of substitutes and new products, emphasized the importance of the technical man on the one hand and the scientist on the other. As a rule, it was not the business heads of the great corporations—the men whose function lay in the control of financial policies—but the technical men in control of production policies and occupying less exalted positions in the corporate hierarchy who proved most useful in mobilized industry.

INCREASE OF TECHNICIANS IN INDUSTRY

A marshaling of the administrative heads of the great post-war corporations will show a constantly increasing proportion of technically trained executives. As for the scientists, their services were so widely used during the war and with such satisfactory results that a great impetus was given to industrial reliance on scientific advice and to the development of well-manned scientific departments in most of the more important industrial concerns.

This development of a wider use of the services of men of scientific attainment is a result of the basic tendency toward the complex yet highly efficient collectivism already discussed. A small industrial enter-

prise is not beyond the capacity of a single dynamic and able general manager who can do its thinking for it. Such cannot possibly be the case with a great modern corporation. Its general management must of itself be an organization—a thinking machine made up of a number of individual thinking units. The particular "brain-cell" devoted to research in such a system must needs be the best obtainable, and, once given its proper place in the group, its voice is heard as would rarely have been the case in the pre-war system of corporate organization.

There is a venerable theory that war is always a reactionary force so far as labor is concerned, and puts a quietus on labor protests because the welfare of the individual is submerged in the welfare of the nation.

President Wilson's labor policy contemplated a genuine cooperation with labor, as with capital, for the common cause. The late President Gompers of the American Federation of Labor sat in the Council of National Defense. Similarly, in all instrumentalities of war government, labor was not merely accorded a voice. Its advice and cooperation were eagerly sought and freely given. A War Labor Board was constituted to see that the exigencies of war production did not inflict a lowering of standards upon labor. Wages were raised with the conscious purpose of keeping them in precisely proportionate accord with the rising cost of living. The war period may properly be said to have been one of labor prosperity.

More important than these tangible labor policies was the underlying doctrine that the civilian morale was quite as important as the morale of our armies for the winning of the war. It was necessary not only that labor should feel that it was being treated fairly with respect to both wages and prices, but that people in every walk of life should be conscious at all times that the war was being conducted on the prime principle of disturbing as little as possible human comfort and well-being throughout the country. This lesson came late in the war, and the effect of it was the price-fixing program. But though appearing late it will not be forgotten. The peoples of all the nations have determined

that never again in war shall capital, industry and labor be permitted to escape their fair share in the burden, nor shall benefits be apportioned otherwise than equally. No greater profits will be permitted in war than occur in peace.

NEW ATTITUDE TOWARD LABOR

It would be too much to say that this principle of the distribution of obligations retained its full effectiveness after the close of the war, but neither has it altogether disappeared. Post-war industry has been very reluctant to adopt a policy of cutting wages, and it seems to be generally assumed that an industry which cannot pay a living wage is laboring under bad management. If an industrial establishment must economize, the labor bill is, as a rule, the last item to be subjected to downward revision. It is interesting to consider the profound change in point of view from which this new attitude springs.

Before the war business policy generally sought production at the lowest attainable hourly wage for labor. The increased wages of the war, induced by the policies just discussed, enabled labor to come into the domestic market to purchase not only the necessities appropriate to a fuller measure of living but also for so-called luxuries. With complete recognition of the justice of the demand of labor for a more equitable distribution of the finer things of life, the "luxuries" of yesterday became the necessities of today, while new luxuries were created by the rapidly developing progress already described.

For a brief time there was some deploring of this tendency, until industry discovered suddenly that it had uncovered a huge and hitherto unsuspected vein of consumption in the domestic market. This new demand in that market, which is the most profitable of all outlets for American production, increased rapidly, and almost without exception all leaders in that field were prompt to recognize the pre-war mistake. Thus industrial leaders as well as labor leaders are now stout champions of the living wage, and this great new stratum of the domestic market is generally recognized as an indispensable and permanent element of our economic structure.

Today agriculture is laboring for an in-

adequate return. It would seem that the same enlightened self-interest which has recently supported a living wage for labor ought to be applied to increase the return to agriculture and thus further enhance the domestic buying power of the nation. Also, while some industries are operating on a satisfactory earning basis, it is none the less true that, in the main, the return on capital in industry is very small, less than one-half of what is allowed by law to the Government-regulated railways, and I venture to predict that the intelligent attitude of the nation toward labor will result in some constructive action which will produce a better return on the capital which employs the labor.

DECLINE OF ECONOMIC NATIONALISM

The war appears now to have closed an epoch marked by an excess of selfish nationalism, which sought to apply the whole economic resources of a country to its own political aggrandizement. In Germany, where economic nationalism reached its highest development, the army, the colonies, shipping and the export industries were all conceived of as so many links in the chain of national expansion at the expense of other Powers. Subsidies, transportation favors, diplomacy and even military and naval threats were all employed to the furthering of this supposed national interest.

The defeat of Germany appears to have put a quietus upon such extreme measures. It has liberated economic action from a too nationalistic policy. Certain transitory reactionary tendencies have appeared, such as attempts to subordinate foreign investment to arbitrary rules of diplomacy, but they amount to little. Economic forces are today operating with increasing freedom across all the political barriers of the world. America, for example, is investing her surplus in every continent instead of concentrating it on prospective allies or dependencies, as was so largely the case with some of the Continental nations before the war. The international flow of gold reserves is coming more and more to be viewed in its world aspects. The Federal Reserve Bank takes into account the effects of its policies upon the Banks of England and France and the financial systems of other countries, as these take into account

the effects of their policies on American and other credit organizations. Economic and human relations have surely superseded those of a purely political nature.

The war gave final proof that no possible development of productive power can satisfy the appetite of modern war. The whole Western world is now, after a decade of peace, laboring under colossal debts. In half of Europe the war so completely exhausted the property basis on which constitutional government finally rests that a free hand has been given to political cliques and dictators to govern without consulting the popular will.

This annihilating power of war is now more widely recognized than at any other time in history. No responsible statesman would today look upon a major war as a rational instrument of national policy except as a last measure of defense. Hence there has come into existence a peace movement, quite different in character from the pre-war peace movement. The earlier movement was conducted mainly by private persons whose agitation was taken none too seriously by practical men. Today the peace movement is led by the great captains of industry and finance and the most powerful statesmen, and this is so because they were convinced by one terribly concentrated lesson of a truth they might have divined but would never have accepted in a century of peace.

THE LESSON OF GROUP ACTION

If the war *did* raise the curtain of the future not quite to let it fall on Armistice Day, it may be well to take a fleeting general glance at the setting then disclosed and since somewhat exemplified in the manner here but briefly sketched.

Practically all the principal nations of the world were allied in a great group striving for a common cause. In the minds of the warring peoples at least it was a reasoned cause based on moral grounds, and it is doubtful whether any of the nations could have been led into the war on any other argument. No war in history ever required such floods of intellectual propaganda for its sustenance. It was in popular conception a federation of the world actuated by a single purpose to achieve a better path for human progress.

For a brief period economic barriers were absolutely down and political barriers were breached at every wall. In material things resources of men, material, money and mind were freely contributed to one vast pool. Individual nationalistic ambitions were for the moment merged. The price of victory was seen to be submergence of nationalism for the cause of humanity.

Within each nation exactly similar results were seen. The necessity for efficient service and production absolutely required the submergence of individual enterprise in great industrial groupings responsive to a single control. Whether we consider agriculture, industry, transportation, finance or commerce we have seen the result to be precisely the same.

The same tendency was obvious in political organizations. For instance, in the administration of the Selective Draft law the States operated precisely as if they had been departments of the Federal Government, and the Governors, each directly responsible for the execution of the law in his own State, reported to the President precisely on the pattern of corporate industrial administration. Such a result was thought to be unconstitutional in 1864. It happened in 1917 without the slightest protest only because of the irresistible impetus with which the national mind was moving toward the idea of controlled scientific and highly organized collectivism as the nation's salvation. More especially the great economic and social principle of the war was that the safety and strength of the individual (whether man, industry, community, State, nation or group of nations) is the safety and strength of the whole; that no unit is independent of its fellows; and that human efficiency and progress depend on the submergence of the selfish aspiration of each unit in a single aspiration for the welfare of the group.

The war-time grip of this principle was almost complete. That grip has greatly relaxed, and it is altogether well that this is so. In its full strength it was sudden, premature, crude, rough and in many respects hateful. Whether, following Draper's dictum, it gave us a momentary glimpse of the future of Western civilization is only an interesting speculation. The great point is that it has left its mark on post-war

world politics no less than on post-war economics, and year by year, as the smoke and confusion of the great conflict vanishes, there stands forth more clearly for

the eyes of less gifted men to see the vision that came to our great war President, Woodrow Wilson, as an inspiration in the very heat and burden of the fight.

Military—

I—The Strategy of the Allies

By GENERAL TASKER H. BLISS

FORMER CHIEF OF STAFF, UNITED STATES ARMY; MEMBER OF THE SUPREME WAR COUNCIL IN FRANCE AND OF THE AMERICAN COMMISSION AT THE PEACE CONFERENCE

THE paucity of scientific strategical combinations in the military operations of the World War has often been commented upon. To whatever extent it is true—and to a large extent it is true—is due to the radical change in recent years in the conditions under which war is waged.

War is, in a sense, a mechanical art. It is subject to the laws of mechanics which govern the application of power so as to perform the maximum of effective work in overcoming resistance at a given point in the shortest time with the minimum wear and tear on the machine. The war machine is the armed power of the State, combined with all its material and moral power. In war the man who can accurately determine the point of least resistance and where, this resistance being overcome, the greatest results are most speedily obtained, and who can accurately operate all parts of the machine to bring its maximum power to bear at this point is the successful strategist. And strategy is the art of doing just that one thing.

As the general in the field controls only a part of this machine, and the State the other part, the most successful strategist is likely to be one who has the ability to combine in his own person all the military and civil powers of Government—a Frederick the Great, a Napoleon, a Caesar.

Under modern Governments this is impossible. In other words, the modern war machine is really two machines, in many respects not closely connected in time of peace, and in war more or less clumsily geared together and working with much friction.

Therefore, the modern strategist has

many limitations upon his freedom in making military combinations. His objective may be—and almost certainly is—the enemy's army in the field. If its resistance can be overcome, all other results may be attained without further effort. But the State, representing a national will, may have another objective. This may be, for example, the acquisition of certain territory even before the defeat of the enemy's army can assure retention of it, and making that defeat more difficult. And this may be combined with a national determination not to yield, for any strategical purpose whatever, an inch of the national territory except under compulsion. The general must make his combinations as best he possibly can under these limitations. All this dominated the French situation in 1914.

This limitation holds even under an autocratic Government. A modern autocrat, unlike those of older times, can hold his position long only with and not against the popular will. And his Government, too, has to yield at critical moments to that will. His military commander may make a strategical plan the success of which is as nearly guaranteed as anything can be in war by the initial surrender of certain national territory to be won back by the defeat of the enemy in the field. At the last moment, perhaps, the Government, or perhaps the general, or perhaps both, lacking the necessary moral courage to withstand a first outburst of popular wrath, change the plan with resulting disaster. And all that dominated the German situation in 1914. This imposition of political upon military strategy resulted in the

failure of the plan of one side in ten days, and of the other in forty days.

All this is true when only two modern States are at war—how much more so when several are lined up on each side! Modern war plans are made long in advance of war, to meet the conditions at the time they are made. They are modified from year to year as these conditions change, and the plan for use when war breaks out is the modified plan of that moment. Manifestly this can be done only between States bound together by a hard and fast alliance reasonably certain to continue. And its assumptions as to the conditions likely to exist when war comes must be reasonably accurate.

Consider for a moment from this point of view the two plans for 1914. The German plan of 1905—which, as modified, became the plan for 1914—assumed that the cooperation of Austria was assured, but that Italy would drop out of the Triple Alliance; that there would be limitations on assistance from Austria and that therefore the German plan must be made as if the war would have to be fought by Germany practically alone; and that she would have against her from the beginning Russia, France, Great Britain and Belgium. France's plan assumed Russia in the war, not fighting side by side with her, but assisting by causing a diversion of German strength; that England possibly would give some slight assistance on land; that if Belgium was not invaded, her neutrality assured the safety of France's left flank; that if Belgium was invaded, she herself would become that flank, and the stout resistance of her army and fortresses would make it safe long enough for the successful execution of France's plan in another direction; and finally that Italy might be on the side of her enemies. Neither plan could assume the change in conditions that resulted from the event that led to the declaration of war. Nor could either foresee the ultimate enormous proportions of the war and make a strategical plan in advance for the cooperation of their eventual allies. It is apparent that the Germans made the more accurate estimate of the situation, which led them to concentrate almost all their strength against the opponent which they most feared at the outset, while the

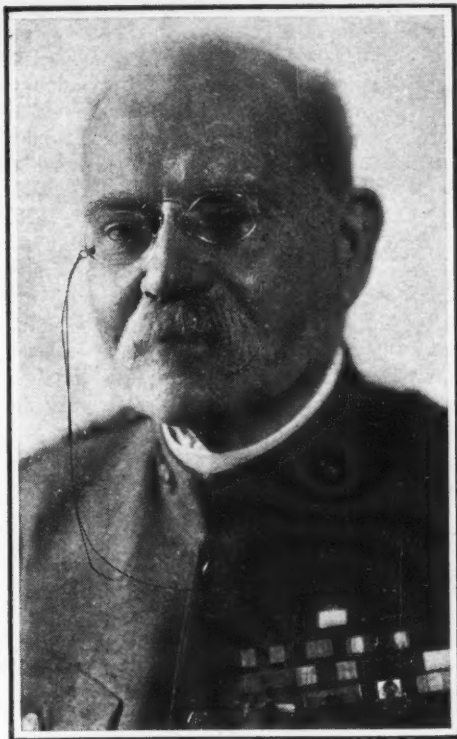
estimate made by the French led them to divert some part of their force against Italy as a possible enemy.

DISADVANTAGES OF LACK OF UNITY

When the allies that come in on either side in the course of a war are small or weak States whose ultimate success plainly depends upon that of the most powerful one in the combination, they are likely to accept that one as their commander-in-chief and adapt their plans and operations to his. This is far less true when several powerful democratic States gradually find themselves side by side in a common war, each entering it from a different motive, each having a different ulterior objective, and none seeing any reason to yield military control of its forces to any other. They begin with no allied commander-in-chief, nor will they have one until disaster makes them realize that their only objective for purposes of the war is to beat the common enemy. Strategical combinations become friendly agreements which may or may not be lived up to. Positions of armies are determined by convenience of supply from their home countries. Perfect amalgamation of effort is prevented by differences of language, organization, armament and other equipment. One army deficient, perhaps, in ammunition cannot use that of another. One cannot, or will not, eat the food of another.

In such a case there can be no allied strategy in the highest sense of the word except in proportion as it is made possible by a sound allied State strategy. There can be no unification of command in the field and of direction of military effort unless there is complete unity of purpose among the Governments concerned. That means unity of spirit and sympathy among the peoples, and the lack of these raises a barrier to united effort that is hard to surmount.

One other only, of many things that limit the exercise of strategy, need be mentioned here. It is the limitation imposed by the great size of modern armies. The essential element of strategy is surprise. Under modern conditions this element is most likely to be found, on a strategical as distinguished from a tactical scale, in the initial war plans. One side may be able to put



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GENERAL TASKER H. BLISS

into the field at once a much larger force than its peace organization indicated and than its enemy could assume as possible. It may have better anticipated new conditions of warfare and have made better preparations of armament to meet them. It may have a better knowledge of the enemy's plan, may know where the latter intends to effect his surprise, and therefore be able to prepare for it, and itself effect a greater surprise elsewhere. Whatever be the resulting plans, huge forces are put into the field, each divided into numerous armies. The commander-in-chief is a long distance away. Everything depends not only on the trained intelligence, but also on the disciplined self-control of the army commanders. Each is an interlocked gear in the machine. If he goes too fast or too slow he wrecks the machine and the plan. One must submit to temporary defeat if the plan calls for it, another to inaction if the plan calls for it, while another may be given an opportunity to win

popular glory if, and only if, the plan calls for it. This self-control is sometimes lacking in the homogeneous army of a single nation, as the Germans found in 1914; it is still more difficult to be assured of it in allied armies. If both initial plans fail in their object these huge masses cannot be readily manoeuvred into new strategical combinations. The tendency then is for the two sides to take offensive-defensive positions which, from the magnitude of the forces engaged, may extend across the entire theatre of war. This theatre, which is the field for strategy, then becomes one great battle ground, which is the field for grand tactics. This is especially likely to be the case when great alliances oppose each other and the man power of several nations is concentrated in the territory of one. The direction of the struggle will be fixed by the result of the initial plans of the combatants who began it. Strategy will have largely failed in its primal purpose of avoiding a decision of the issue by a direct frontal attack alone, which is an application of power to the strongest and not the weakest point of resistance. The war becomes a continuous series of frontal attacks, a test of human endurance, in which surprise, as the World War showed, is practically impossible.

It is, therefore, in the initial plans that we must seek for most of the strategy of that war.

THE FRENCH STRATEGIC PLAN

The French Plan XVII was the last of a series formulated to meet the changing conditions after the war of 1870-71. These were the gradual completion of the new system of fortifications adjusted to the new Franco-German frontier, the growth of military power under the new system of training reserves, and *pari passu* with these an increasing confidence and spirit of boldness in the people and their civil and military leaders, gradually passing from a strategic-defensive to a strategic-offensive conception of their best attitude in the next war. For a few years after 1871 the plans were purely defensive, even contemplating the first concentration of the armies behind the River Loire, yielding at the outset to the enemy all of Northeastern France. But a study of them, from Plan I of 1880 to

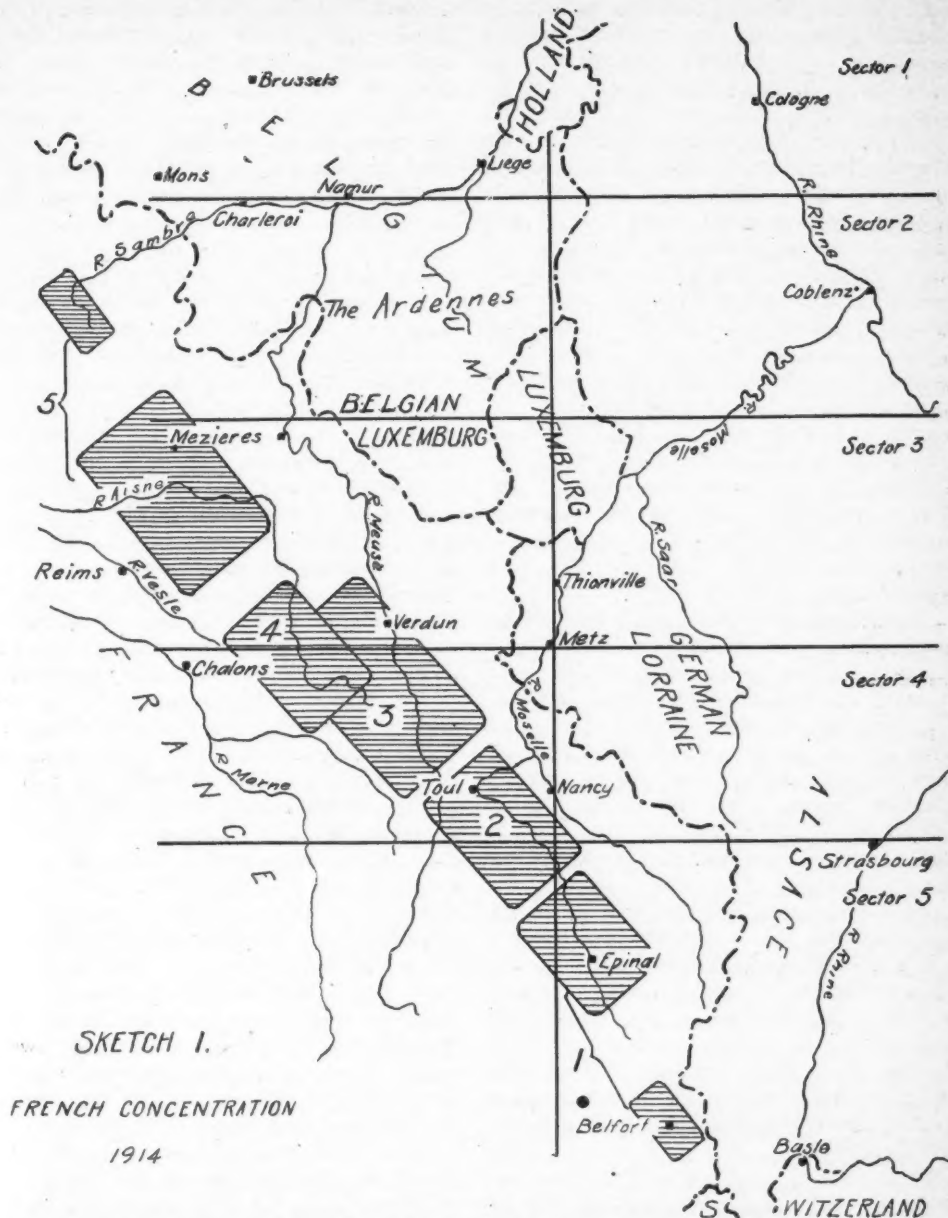
Plan XVII of 1914, shows this concentration drawing nearer and nearer to the frontier of Alsace-Lorraine as the defenses on that line approached completion, under cover of which the concentration could safely be made nearer to the enemy. Any criticism of the final plan must not overlook the influence of State strategy upon it, due to the dread which former experience had inspired in the French people of invasion, with a resulting devastation of war confined to their own country.

These plans were more and more based on the true theory of fortified areas, that they are not primarily for pure defense in the protection of a city, but to strengthen and protect manoeuvring armies in the field. They all show the main forces as based on the fortresses from Verdun to Belfort. Most of them indicate apprehension in varying degree of an enemy attack through Belgium, to meet which dispositions were made in the plans on the French left flank. As a rule, these dispositions do not indicate fear of an overwhelming attack from this direction or even of one of very serious proportions. They all show the increasing spirit of boldness and a determination, culminating in Plan XVII, to assume the offensive immediately in order to disrupt the German plan, whatever it might be, in an early stage of its execution. The plan was admittedly made when there was no reliable information of that of the enemy. This, of course, is generally true, in greater or less degree, of the initial plans for a war. Accurate knowledge comes to the other side with the early moves. Each has to be made on as intelligent guesses as possible of the enemy's intentions. Success generally depends upon the accuracy of the guesses. Yet it has happened in war that a bold offensive made in ignorance of the enemy's plan has disrupted it and forced him to play to his adversary's lead in a new and unexpected direction under circumstances of great disadvantage. But such a move involves the element of chance to a dangerous degree. And failure is almost certain if a strong enemy has foreseen this move and provided for it, and has perhaps made his own plan on the assumption of it. It was upon this chance that Plan XVII was based.

The political assumptions of both the French and German plans have been brief-

ly noted. But there are other things to be considered. In 1914 the available forces, active and reserve, on both sides, were not far from equal. In the event of a prolonged war, so far as these two countries alone were concerned, Germany would have an advantage in the proportion of 65,000,000 of people as against France's 40,000,000. It was therefore important for the latter to secure a quick decision under circumstances that she believed favorable. Germany equally desired this because she expected in no long time to have the Russians on her back. Therefore it would seem that both plans would at once put into the field the maximum possible strength, and that for this purpose both would make free use of their reserves to increase their forces in first line. But the French plan assumed that Russia would, from the beginning, detain a strong German force on that frontier and that, in fact, the first collision would find the French superior in numbers. They did not want to make much use of reserve divisions at the very outset in the first line, and assumed that the Germans would not. For this, among other reasons, they believed the initial German infantry strength would be about forty-two divisions, which would not enable them to make a wide enveloping movement through Belgium. To get the troops to do it they would have to weaken their centre and left, which would facilitate success of the French offensive. They assumed a turning (as distinguished from an enveloping) movement against their left flank. But they believed that, assisted by Belgian resistance and with the help of the one cavalry and five infantry divisions of the British which were soon to arrive, they could stand this movement off long enough for the success of their offensive.

To sum up: The conception of the plan was to check, if not thwart, an attack on the French left flank; to hold up the Germans coming through the Ardennes, Belgian Luxemburg and the Duchy of Luxemburg; by a violent offensive of their centre and right themselves to turn the German left and thus plant the Tricolor throughout Alsace and Lorraine and threaten the left and rear of the main German forces assumed to be moving through the Ardennes. The plan apparently assumed a decisive battle be-



The shaded portions of this sketch map show the sectors into which the French area of concentration was divided. The numbers refer to the French armies. The vertical line on this map and on the two which follow represents the distance between the neutral frontiers of Holland and Switzerland and is roughly the extreme length of the possible battle front

tween the line of the Meuse and the Rhine, with the French attacking from the south and west.

This plan was approved by the French

Government in the Spring of 1913, and was ready for execution in the Spring of 1914. In general accordance with it and by the time active operations began there were as-

sembled fifty-six infantry divisions and seven cavalry divisions organized in five armies, with a separate cavalry corps of three divisions, and six infantry reserve divisions as yet unassigned. The areas of concentration are shown in Sketch 1. Like the following ones it represents the general area divided into sectors. Each sector corresponds approximately to an area of concentration of the forces on both sides, and to directions of force. The vertical line represents the straight distance between the neutral frontiers of Holland and Switzerland and roughly shows the limits of the possible battle front. In Sketch 1 the abnormal position of the fourth army, intended to be in reserve in rear of the centre, is due to the early development of the German plan before completion of the French concentration. This caused the fifth army to be moved further to the left, and to close the resulting gap the fourth army was moved to the front.

The respective strengths of the French armies from right to left was as follows: First Army, two cavalry divisions, thirteen infantry divisions; Second Army, two cavalry and thirteen infantry divisions; Third Army, one cavalry and nine infantry divisions; Fourth Army, one cavalry and six infantry divisions; Fifth Army, one cavalry and fifteen infantry divisions.

The concentration was substantially completed by Aug. 14. Before that date the German invasion of Belgium had begun, but the extent of the movement was not revealed, nor was it at first suspected by the French commander-in-chief. He believed that his flank was secure for a sufficient time and he therefore launched his offensive on Aug. 14, beginning with the two armies on the right, to be followed by a similar attack from the centre and directed north of Metz.

To understand why both the German and French plans failed in their purpose it is desirable to compare the foregoing situation, in succession, with the plan of Schlieffen and its modification by Moltke. Schlieffen's assumptions have already been given. He believed that Germany could not withstand a combined attack from Russia and France. To prevent such a combination one must be defeated in time to turn upon the other. The only hope was in defeating

France while Russia was mobilizing. This might allow a few weeks. To defeat France in that time required the maximum possible force at the beginning. But he could not deploy that force on the Franco-German frontier. He did not think that the line of French fortresses supported by the French armies on that frontier could be successfully attacked.

A LESSON FOR STATESMEN

In fact, it should be instructive for statesmen to note that, with modern facilities for defense, Germany and France, notwithstanding their disparity in populations, could face each other indefinitely, without either being able to invade the other, provided their military operations be confined to their own and short and common frontier. Unless one side can attack the other both by land and sea, nothing can break the situation except an alliance that will introduce a new force in another direction. And this is what happened through the military alliance of France and Russia. The danger was not so much from their combined force as it was from the widely separated directions from which the force would come. Against that combination the neutrality of Belgium and Switzerland spelled disaster in advance for Germany. In their devisings of arrangements for preserving world peace, statesmen must remember that so long as war continues under present conditions, and so long as purely military alliances continue to be made, the neutrality of one small State may make it, in effect, an ally of one of the combatants. This was not the case when wars were fought with small armies, nor to the death, as now. But now this neutrality enters into their military calculations. It may be an element of actual military strength. It may be equivalent to the addition of a great army to one side or the other. For this reason, so long as wars continue, the neutrality of small or weak States will be in danger. This fact as much as any other dominated the evolution of the political organization of Europe as it was before the World War. It was as much a cause as any other of the gradual absorption of small States by more powerful ones. And, continuing to operate as before, it will sometime produce the same results.

Schlieffen saw no hope, nor was there any, unless the flank of the French position could be turned. Having determined to do this he, for obvious military reasons, chose the line through Belgium. A powerful right flank could sweep in this direction not far from the seacoast to the west and southwest. It would cut all lines of approach for the British into France as far as Rouen, and would turn, one after another, all the natural lines of defense of the French armies.

This was, therefore, the basis of his plan. It was a marvel of exact calculation and at the same time gave full consideration to possible chances, favorable or otherwise. The right flank was to be of maximum strength. Its advance was carefully coordinated with frontal attacks north of Metz and through Luxemburg and Belgian Luxemburg, not to bring on a decisive battle but designed to hold the French armies until the calculated moment for the attack upon the left flank of the French position. Schlieffen anticipated the French offensive to be made by their right and centre and was sure that their left would therefore be relatively weak.

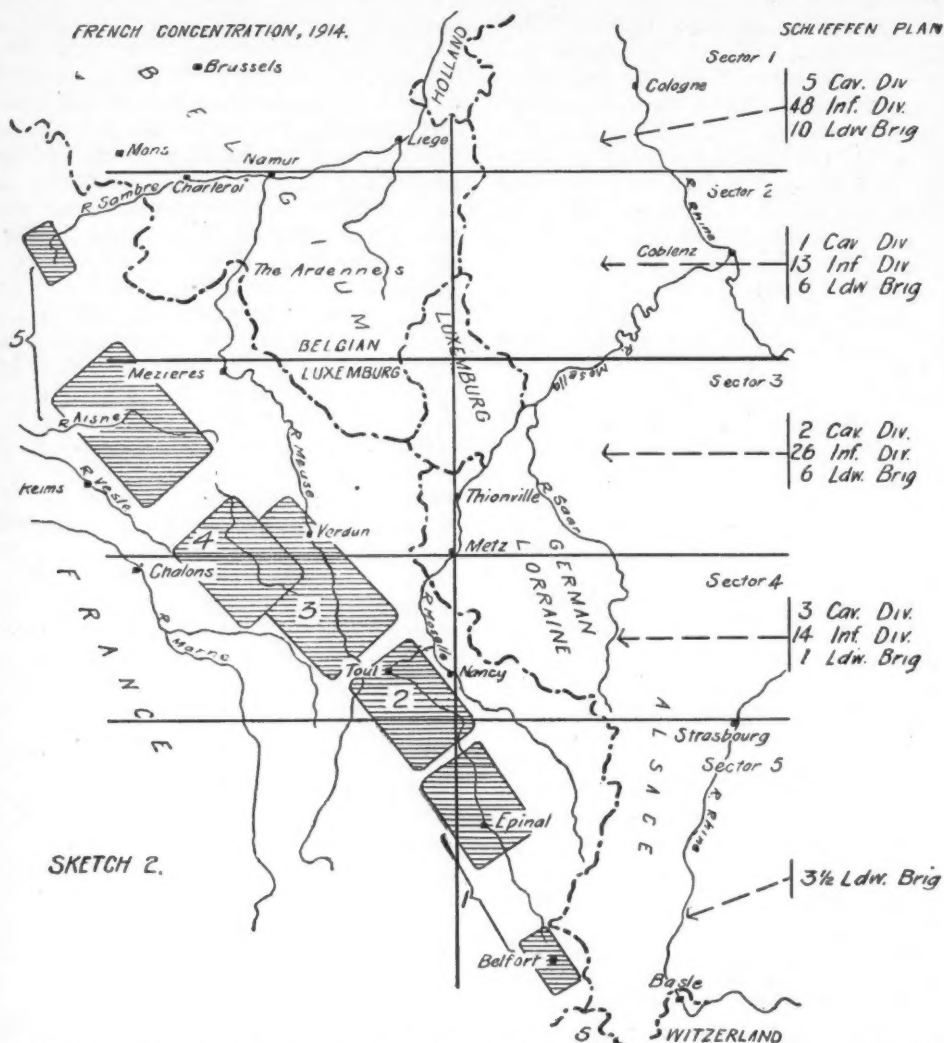
SCHLIEFFEN'S PLAN

He calculated his attack on the French left to coincide approximately with the French attack on his left. But he also took steps, not apparent to the enemy, to check their attack in time. He knew that he was taking risks on his left. But his right was the key to his entire plan. To strengthen it he had to weaken his left. In reverse order and for exactly the same reason the French plan did the same. Schlieffen deliberately counted on the temporary loss of most of Lorraine and Alsace, and he made this assumption an important part of his plan. There was a position on the Saar eastward of Metz with much stronger defenses, as subsequent French accounts show, than the enemy suspected. The commander of the Sixth German Army was to retire under enemy pressure to this point, which gave full opportunity to the defensive power of fire action. Meanwhile the Seventh Army, in Alsace, was to withdraw to the right bank of the Rhine, where rail transportation would be ready to move it north in a direction that would bring it

on the right flank of the French attacking the position on the Saar. At the same time a designated part of the Fifth Army north of Metz was to move against the left flank.

On the map this latter attack would be prevented by the advance of the French centre, according to their plan, north of Metz. But in 1914 this same advance was promptly stopped by the much weaker force of Moltke; it would certainly have failed before the stronger one of Schlieffen. But in any event the turning of the French left in the angle of the Sambre and Meuse at this moment—undoubtedly successful because it succeeded in 1914 with a lesser force—would have made a radical change in the French position. If they continued to hold Verdun the two armies on their right would have to abandon their offensive and fall back to a defensive position on the frontier. The line from Verdun north, pivoting on that fortress, would have to retire to the left and rear and find a new position for the defense of Paris. But the continuous advance of the extremely powerful German right, having the minimum resistance to overcome, would make all such positions indefensible. There were three of these: one extending from Paris behind the Oise and the Aisne and thence to Verdun; the next, from Paris behind the Marne and to Verdun; and the third, from Paris behind the Seine and then to the fortified area of Toul-Nancy. There was a fourth—the Loire—but this meant the abandonment of Paris. Schlieffen's plan would have brought six cavalry divisions and eighteen infantry divisions across the Seine between Paris and Rouen, passing south of Paris against the left flank of the line of the Marne, with sixteen divisions to guard against sorties from the Paris defenses. As his schedule of time was maintained during the early stages of Moltke's operations in August, 1914, it is probable that with Schlieffen's much larger forces it would have been maintained throughout.

By a far bolder and more confident use of reserve divisions than the French had at any time before the war proposed for themselves or had assumed for their enemy, Schlieffen provided for the execution of his plan a total force of 11 cavalry divisions, 101 infantry divisions and 26½ landwehr brigades. These were



Sketch map showing the original Schlieffen plan of location of the seven German armies for the initial operations

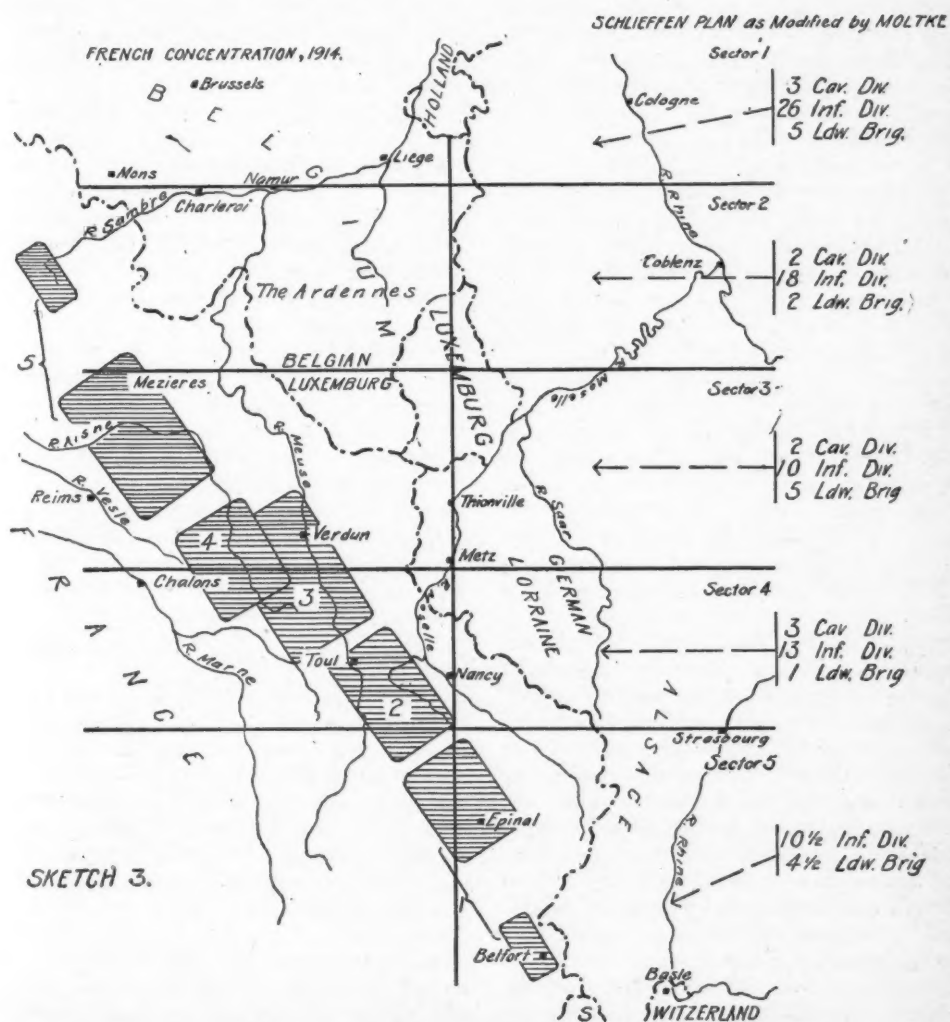
organized in seven armies to be located for the initial operations as shown in the sectors of Sketch 2. Two armies were in each of Sectors 1 and 2; one army in each of Sectors 3, 4 and 5—the latter so weak as to be detachments rather than armies. The great mass was from Metz northward and intended to press the French left-and-rear wheel as soon as the flank attack compelled it. The hammer-head on the extreme right had a cavalry strength one-half that of all the French cavalry and a strength in infantry divisions of the first line alone

of more than half of the French infantry. Schlieffen realized, as no man before, the value of intense fire-action both in attack and defense. He greatly increased the power of his above forces by an abundance of rapid-fire weapons and by a large proportion of heavy artillery, and his plan threw to the winds any idea of conservation of ammunition. There is little room for doubt that the salvation of France was due to the substitution of the Moltke plan for this one.

The German plan with which the war began lacked Schlieffen's courage. Neither

Moltke nor his Government could, at the last moment, contemplate even the temporary surrender to the Russians of any part of Eastern Germany, nor of Alsace-Lorraine to the French. But this had to be done if the armies against France were to be strong enough. To accomplish this Schlieffen maintained to his dying hour that risks must be taken in order to have any chance of final success. It is said that on his death-bed his last words were, "Keep the right flank strong." But his forces were whittled away till they were not enough to attain the objective that Moltke as well as

he aimed at. Partly to meet the demands of the Austrian chief of staff the total strength was weakened to increase that on the eastern frontier. This was largely done at the expense of the right flank. This flank was further weakened to increase the defenses of Alsace-Lorraine. In the early stage of operations the commander of the German left was unwilling to play an inactive part while others were winning glory elsewhere. He demanded additional troops, which again were taken from the right flank. Perhaps it would not have been done had he not been the Crown Prince of Ba-



The modification of the Schlieffen plan adopted by Moltke and actually put into operation

varia. At a later critical stage two army corps were detached to defend East Prussia.

The forces to execute this plan and their relations to the French plan are shown on Sketch 3. It shows on comparison with Sketch 2 a serious reduction in the two armies in Sector 1, on which the success of the whole plan depended. Its success was further jeopardized by a sweeping reduction in the reserves intended for use in minor operations. This threw upon troops of the first line the necessity of attending to such operations and further diminished their strength for their all-important work. The cause of final failure already begins to appear. The increase in Sector 2 implies a stronger offensive than the Schlieffen plan believed necessary. The great reduction in Sector 3 surrendered whatever chance there was of prying the French loose from their pivot at Verdun. The increase of the armies in Alsace and Lorraine saved the province for a little time to the Germans, and played its part in losing them the war.

Still, the German armies were, in total, much the stronger. Division for division they had the greater fire-action due to the number of their machine guns, and some of their artillery outranged the French guns. The early results were as plainly suggested by the sketches. The French offensives were promptly repulsed, with the good result, however, that they did not fall into the trap prepared by Schlieffen. The two armies on the right returned to a defensive position, where they were able to assist in the protection of Verdun and to detach troops for the new sixth army which decided the Battle of the Marne. The French left was turned and the armies fell back with Verdun as the pivot or wheel of the line. The German right was still strong enough to envelop the left of the French positions until the latter reached the line behind the Marne. But it was not strong enough to carry out its real mission. It could not make the sweep to the west of Paris. As the Germans approached the Marne the enveloping flank had to close in more and more to the armies on its left until it became itself exposed to a disastrous attack from the direction of Paris. In the Battle of the Marne the German plan ended in complete failure to attain its object, as Plan XVII had failed on the line

of the Meuse. The latter failed because of its erroneous conception of the initial situation; the former, because of its failure to provide the means necessary for its execution, and vacillation in the employment of such as were provided.

The Battle of the Marne illustrates how a skillful commander may extricate his forces from a very serious situation. The moment the German plan was revealed the French commander "scrapped" Plan XVII and with imperturbable courage formed another. While swinging his army back on the Verdun pivot he ordered the formation of a new group with intent to counter the enemy's enveloping movement by a similar one directed against his right flank. He hoped first to use this from a position on the Somme, but the steady German pursuit allowed no time for this. He fell back to the Marne intending to put his left behind the Seine, should it be necessary, and thence make a counter-offensive with all the left armies. This would have reversed, in favor of the French, Schlieffen's plan on this flank. But he did not reach the Seine. In its retirement his new sixth army (part of his enveloping mass) had stopped within the outer defenses of Paris. From there it was enabled to attack the German right which was unexpectedly passing Paris on the east instead of the west. Under Schlieffen's plan the battle would probably have been decisive in ending the campaign. The victory for the French was indecisive because it was the result of a simple flank attack and not an enveloping one. It did not prevent the Germans from making an orderly retreat.

FAILURE OF PLANS BRINGS LONG STRUGGLE

Thus instead of the end, the French victory was the prelude of a great war. The situation soon became that of two huge armies in one continuous line of battle from the North Sea to the Alps. Strategy had failed in its prime object of bringing two armies into contact in such a way that the issue would not have to be decided by a frontal attack. And thus the ensuing struggle for four years became rather a test of the courage and endurance of the soldier and of the suffering civil population behind him than of the General's strategical skill.

The field presented for consideration dur-

ing these years is too vast for more than a cursory notice. After the Battle of the Marne the situation of the Central Powers gradually became that of a fortress covering a large part of Europe with a garrison numerous enough to make powerful sorties. The military operations became those of besieged and besiegers. There is always a key-point of such vital importance that its capture is worth to the besieger all his efforts and losses. The State policies of the principal besieging nations regarded the Western Front from the North Sea to the Adriatic as being this key-point. Here in time millions of men from four of the nations were assembled. Each State had its objective on this front: England, the security of the north ports and a Belgium free from the domination of any one, whether present friends or enemy; France, the lost provinces; Italy, expansion on her east; the United States, the defeat of the enemy, with no material objective. None knew whether the war would end with a decisive victory for the Allies or on the basis of the *status quo post*. If the latter, each with a material objective wanted to have it in his possession when the end came.

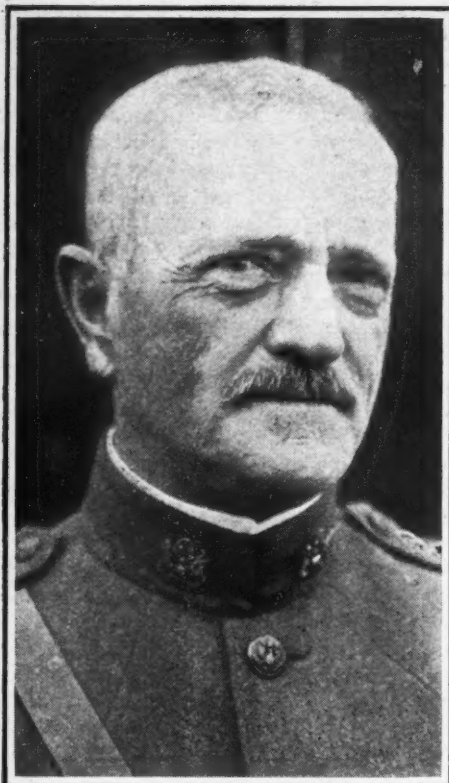
This of itself long prevented real strategical cooperation, because each army had to fight on the line dictated by its Government. A success of any would, of course, help each of the others and the common cause. But to attain the success might require one or more allies to devote all their power to assist another, even to the extent of switching large armies to another theatre. Possibly with this assistance given in time the Italians might have won a victory in 1917, pushing through the eastern Alps, throwing Austria out of the Central Alliance and exposing Germany to attack from a new direction. But here Governments may interfere. If one ally, after being bled white, wins the one thing that its people take any interest in, the latter may demand that further effort be devoted to the consolidating of their new possession and assuring its retention. The Pact of London was intended to keep the Allies in the war side by side to the end. But an ally might stay in the war and yet devote all its efforts solely to safeguarding its own interests.

The Battle of the Marne was followed by

a movement the reverse of that which preceded it. The Germans now wheeled back and the Allies forward, each on its original pivot, until by the end of 1914 the former had stabilized a line of defense. This ran from the North Sea, west of Ostend, to the River Oise, and thence easterly to the north of Verdun, where it turned southeast into Alsace. The line had a great salient, its axis directed to the southwest. Then followed numerous battles, each side trying to crush a flank and thus turn the line, or to break it at some intermediate point. The net result was to demonstrate the almost impregnable strength of scientifically prepared positions with modern weapons. Both sides sought new devices, unknown to the enemy, by the surprise resulting from which a solid success might be obtained. Chemical warfare was developed and aerial warfare and finally the tanks. The general strategical feature in all the operations during trench warfare to the end is seen in the use of rail and motor transportation to move large masses of troops quickly from one point to another and thus effect a surprise. The strength of the defenses on the west enabled the Central Powers to apply this principle on a large scale. It permitted Germany to withdraw large forces from France to the eastern front, where, with those already there, they finally defeated Russia and put her out of the war. They had done the same in 1916 in Rumania, by which they increased the front which the Russians had to hold by about 300 miles.

GERMANY'S DESPERATE STRATEGY IN 1917

In the Spring of 1917 the Germans bettered their position in France by withdrawing to the carefully prepared Hindenburg line, which ran in part along the chord of the great salient. It gave them a shorter and stronger line to defend and increased the power of their reserves. To this line, beginning with the end of 1917, they began to transfer many divisions no longer needed against Russia. With this reinforcement they launched a great offensive in March, 1918. Their strategical objective was the junction of the British and French armies. If they could break through at that point and in sufficient numbers, it might be expected that the British would withdraw to protect the Channel ports and the French



Underwood & Underwood

General John J. Pershing, head of the American Expeditionary Forces in France, 1917-18

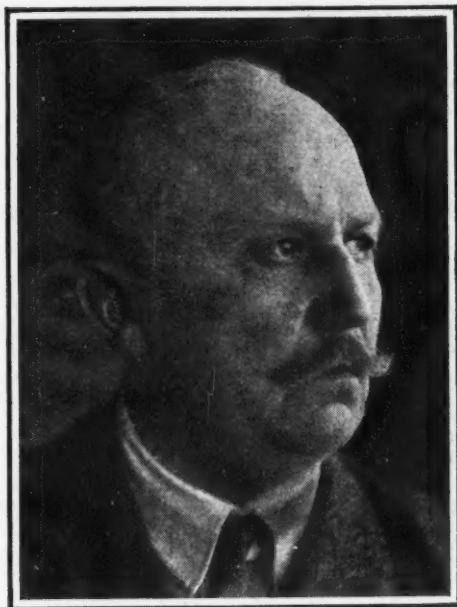
to defend Paris. Then it might be possible to defeat them in detail.

This offensive won for the Germans all and more than they had given up a year before, but it failed in its objective. And they had the disadvantage of a bigger salient than before to hold. To straighten their line they must again yield ground or gain more. They attempted the latter. In May they took a new direction, to the south, swept across the Aisne and reached and passed the Marne. Here, near Chateau Thierry, their advance was stopped by the timely arrival of American divisions. Foreign writers do not give full credit to these divisions for what they did here, though allied military men, as well as the Germans, knew and cordially acknowledged it at the time. It is time for an American historian to do justice to these men who, en-

tering battle for the first time, with their training still uncompleted, by their energy and dogged courage combined with skillful handling did so much in helping to break this last wave of German invasion.

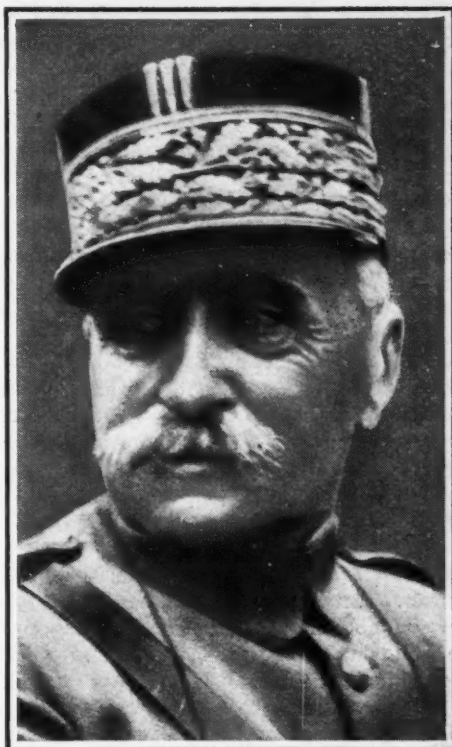
In August, 1918, the tide definitely turned. From March on the Allies had a Commander-in-Chief who was thoroughly qualified to coordinate the armies as had never been done before. He began a series of limited offensives in August, each designed to help the others, and in preparation for the final combined advance of all the armies. As a part of this preparation the Americans had eliminated the St. Mihiel salient on the right. The final drive occupied a little more than the last month of the war. It was made in four more or less concentric attacks from the irregular arc of the allied line from Flanders to Verdun. It ended with the armistice on Nov. 11.

The time is definitely past when a State can entrust its fortunes and fate solely to its army in the field, contenting itself with meeting the demands of its commander for recruits, munitions and other supplies, all of which are obtained, so to speak, in the



GENERAL ERICH LUDENDORFF
First Quartermaster General of the German Armies, 1916-18

open market. In such a case the population pursues its vocations as in peace, and its relations to the State and among its various groups are still governed by the general law of supply and demand. The army in the field is merely a class apart, performing its allotted task. If it is defeated, the State makes peace with the assurance—which history shows has, for the most part, been justified—that it has not staked its all upon victory; and this, because the war has been fought for a definite stake. But it is safe to say that future wars will be fought for an unlimited stake. They will occur, not at the arbitrary will of Governments or autocrats, but only when the passions of entire peoples are inflamed to white heat. Then at once, as gradually came to be the case in the World War, not the army alone but the whole people will be in arms. The plow of the farmer, the pick of the miner, the looms in the mill, the banker at his desk, the inventive genius of every man who can devise a new agency of destruction will, if properly directed by the Government, be weapons as fatal to the enemy as the rifle and artillery in the field.



Underwood & Underwood

Marshal Ferdinand Foch, created Generalissimo of the Allied Forces in 1918



From *Soldiers and Statesmen*,
by Sir William Robertson

Field Marshal Sir Douglas Haig, Commander-in-Chief of the British Expeditionary Forces in France and Flanders, 1914-18

If victory comes, its adversary, which also is not an army but a nation, is at its mercy, and the peace that follows is likely to be a ruthless one.

It is evident that the Government, as well as its military commander, controls a powerful war machine. Experience has shown that the two are generally not well coordinated for the best results, even in small wars. In a great one, which, under modern relations of States, is almost sure to be one of alliances, the difficulty is increased. In such a case, for the greatest efficiency, there must be some form of temporary super-government that can coordinate the separate war machines at home and in the field.

But an alliance enters the war without such a government. The nearest approach to it comes when even the most democratic peoples, under stress, vest their Governments with dictatorial war powers. It is easier for three or four dictators to coordi-

nate their efforts than three or four peoples. Until that happened in the World War, no Government except the United States was ready to venture, against the power of its own press, to surrender its military control of its own armies to a foreign commander-in-chief. Even then they all limited his powers by the provision that any national commander could decline to obey the order of the commander-in-chief in any case where he believed that it imperiled the safety of his own army and until he could consult his own Government.

Before considering how the Allied Governments attempted to get together so that politically and militarily they could function with greater unity in a common war, let us note how they worked more or less separately.

THE WAR ON FOUR FRONTS

The war was fought on four principal fronts. On one side was Russia, able to receive no allied assistance (but expected to give much) except in loans and munitions, little of which helped her armies. By her own sheer force she was expected to turn the scale of war. But frequent demands for her action in the field, ill-timed for Russia, in order to relieve pressure upon the Allies in the west, weakened and in time ruined her. It will always be a question whether an Allied political general staff could not have devised a way by which Russia, after the first two months of the war, could have given aid by keeping her armies on a defensive-offensive attitude, thus detaining as many Central Power troops on that frontier as her attacks did, and taking the offensive at the last moment. Her morale would not then have been sapped by frequent defeat nor would domestic and foreign propaganda have worked in so fertile a field.

The general situation on the Western and Italian fronts has been noted. Most of the Allies regarded the former as the key-point, with the Italian front as a good second. The maximum power should have been concentrated on one or the other. But the political situation at home and separate material objectives prevented each from remaining on the defensive and contributing its forces to the other.

Political reasons also led to the wasting

of considerable strength on the Salonika front, inactive until the last moment of the war. It is true that at the end this army seemed to play an important part. But at the end so large a force was not necessary. By that time the Central Alliance was like a rotted tree, ready to fall at the first pressure. That pressure came on the Western Front. When this began to crumble, success at once came everywhere.

Various expeditions were made which, though some may have contributed to the general result, would probably not have been undertaken had there been an Allied political staff. They were generally favored by one Ally against the views of the soundest thinkers of the others. Had there been such Allied control of the war, the Dardanelles expedition would either not have been undertaken, or it would have been given sufficient strength for success. Nor with such control would forces and money have been wasted in Mesopotamia nor in the conquest of German provinces, perhaps not even in Palestine. With success on the Western Front all these would have fallen like ripe apples from the tree. Only, in that event, it was uncertain into which Ally's hands they would fall.

The Allied navies, except to a certain extent in the case of the United States, were held even more tightly than their armies in the control of their Governments. And this for the most part had to be done. The situation was largely governed by the submarine element, first developed to the full by Germany. England was criticized for not using her supremacy on the sea for landing strong expeditions which, if practicable, would have a decided strategical effect on the war. England and France criticized the attitude of the Italian navy in the Mediterranean. In both cases the attitude was due to the submarine. The strength of the German navy compelled the British battle fleet to remain near its own coast to prevent any possible enemy attack on it. Submarine and raiding warfare on her commerce, vital for her life, scattered most of her naval power about the world. She had not the ships for expeditions on a large scale, not even enough to make the Gallipoli campaign successful.

The Italian defeat on the Isonzo late in 1917 introduced one of two grave compli-

cations. It had been difficult enough before to hold fast in France. The other was the fact that Russia was then definitely out of the war with the possibility that her munitions and grain, if not men, would reinforce the enemy. And it was already plain that Germany had a great reserve of trained men now available for the Western Front.

At a conference in Italy the three principal Powers, England, France and Italy, agreed that the only thing which they had not yet tried for success was governmental unity. In the hope of effecting this they established the Allied Supreme War Council. The council consisted of the heads of Government—the Prime Ministers—of the three countries mentioned, assisted by political and military advisers. Its function was to secure political unity by fixing from time to time a united policy. If this could be done it was expected to govern the commanders in the field and thereby bring about unity of military effort. Events proved that this could not be done without unity of actual command supported by the unity of allied governmental policy. One fact demonstrated this. Unity of military action on the part of several armies, stand-

ing side by side and fighting one battle, requires that there should be an allied general reserve of troops to meet emergencies anywhere on that line of battle, just as a single independent army must have such reserve. This must be formed of contributions from the several armies. But a general reserve necessarily implies a commander-in-chief to direct its use. In other words, the commander of the reserve decides the fate of battle and, in fact if not in name, becomes the commander-in-chief. But neither all the Governments nor all their armies were yet ready for this. The Supreme War Council could not come to an agreement—or rather would not—in face of military opposition. Nor was an agreement forced upon them until the culminating disaster of the German drive in March of 1918 did so. Fortunately they then had the one man ready at hand. And many world wars may yet be fought before allied nations will find a commander-in-chief so richly endowed with an unflinching tact, a sympathetic knowledge of varied human nature, combined with rare technical skill and that sound common sense which is the most essential element of military genius, as they then found in General Foch.

II—The Strategy of the French Command

By COLONEL E. REQUIN

FRENCH MILITARY EXPERT AT THE PARIS PEACE CONFERENCE AND AT THE WASHINGTON ARMS CONFERENCE; FRENCH FOREIGN OFFICE EXPERT ATTACHED TO THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

IN 1914 the strategic doctrine of the French General Staff did not differ in principle from that of its adversaries. Its aim was to prepare under the best conditions for the decisive battle which alone makes victor and vanquished. As Foch, at the *Ecole Supérieure de Guerre*, summed it up, "Henceforth there is no longer any strategy that can prevail against that which assures and aims at tactical results, victory in battle." Besides, in France, as in Germany, there was the conviction that the war would be short, and that it was important not to leave the enemy time to establish defensive positions. Events were to prove, on the contrary, that the struggle between armed nations would lead to a

"total war" which, in a new form, would for four years confront the two sides with the same problem of where, when and how to attack.

On the Allied side the problem was complicated by the fact that the strategy of a coalition had not been thought out, and that a long time would be necessary to establish the unity of command and complete cooperation which were indispensable for success. Looked at in its evolution on the Western front during the course of the last war, the strategy developed presented three distinct but closely connected phases:

- (1) Until November, 1914, the two sides had open spaces in which to conduct a war of movement;
- (2) From 1915 to 1917 they stood on a con-

tinuous front more and more strongly fortified without succeeding in breaking the balance of their respective forces;

- (3) In 1918 the balance is finally destroyed in favor of the Allies; and the operations are at last transformed into a combination of a war of movement and a war of position, in which strategy comes into its own once more.

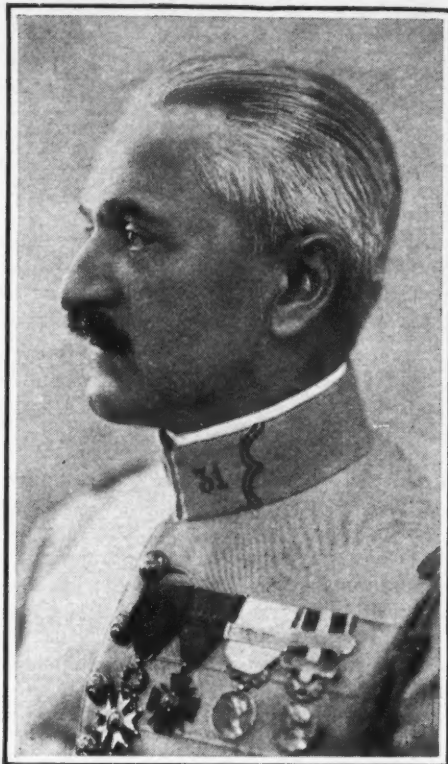
1. *The War of Movement*—Three times in 1914 the two sides came face to face without being able to obtain a decision—in the battle of the frontiers, marked on Aug. 24 by the check to the French strategic offensive; in the battle of the Marne of Sept. 6-12, when the German strategic offensive was broken, and in the battle of Flanders, resulting in the check to the German objectives in the Pas-de-Calais and the stabilization of the Western front in October and November, 1914.

Imbued with the same doctrine, the Germans and the French simultaneously undertook a strategic offensive. But, while the German manoeuvre of swinging round through Belgium was carried out as planned, the offensive of the French left wing, being subordinated to that of the enemy, as a counterstroke turned out to be inadequate. The French command would not admit the possibility that the enemy might emerge to the north of the Meuse, for it expected only a restricted violation of the neutral territory, and furthermore, the direction of the offensive which it chose in that case for its left wing by way of Neufchateau through Belgium Luxemburg did not do away with the threat of envelopment on the plains of Flanders.

So we see Joffre, under the stress of events, soon modifying and limiting his original intention of "seeking battle with the whole of his united force, while he rested his right wing on the Rhine." Independently of the right wing offensive in Lorraine which he maintained, it was no longer his left but his centre that was to attack in the direction of Neufchateau, while the left wing, resting on the Northwest toward Philippeville was, in conjunction with the British, to attempt to check the enemy's flanking manoeuvre.

THE FRENCH RETREAT IN AUGUST, 1914

It is a matter of record that on Aug. 24 the French Centre, after having collided with equal forces on a wooded terrain, in-



COLONEL E. REQUIN

tersected with rivers, that was unsuitable for an offensive, fell back on the frontier, while the left wing and the British were also obliged to retreat because of the twofold threat of envelopment by Von Kluck, who reached the Scheldt below Condé and Hausen, approaching the Meuse toward Dinant.

But the retreat of the French armies was much more the result of the use made by the enemy of skilfully chosen direction for the offensive than of the battle itself. Those armies fell back *without being defeated*, and it was an outstanding mistake of the German General Staff not to have understood that. By simple measures energetically carried out and in accordance with the principles of sound strategy, Joffre was really ending the combat and on the following day (Aug. 25) planning the manoeuvre which would logically bring him victory.

By the choice of his direction for the retreat Joffre removed his left wing from

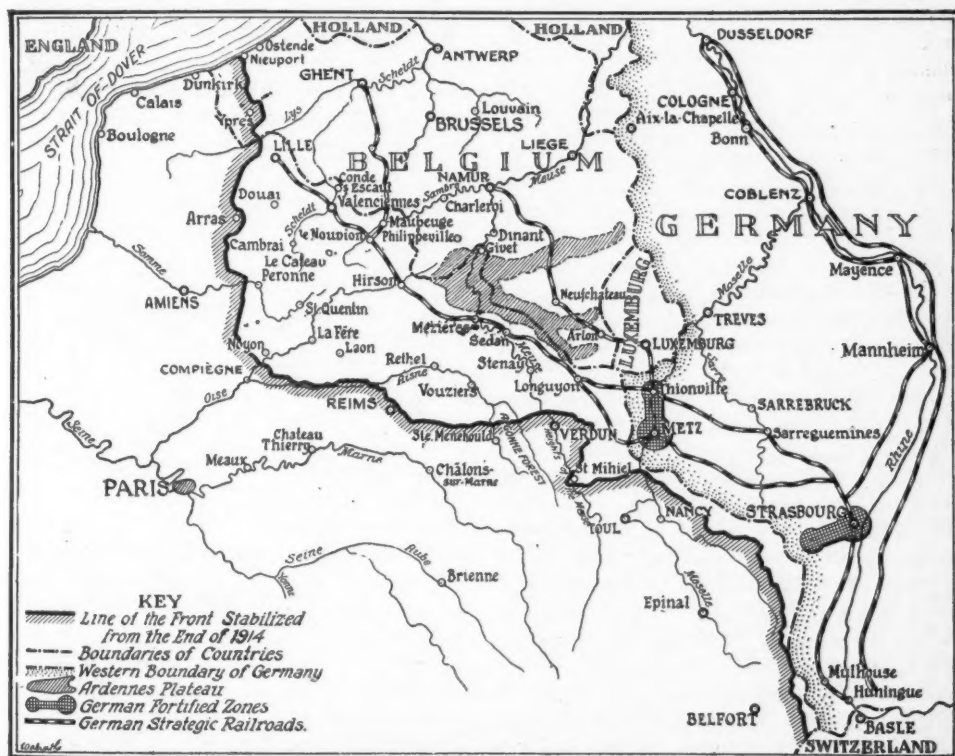
an outflanking movement and compelled the enemy either to follow him and expose his flank to the offensive which was being prepared by the army of Paris, or, if he marched on Paris, to yield him freedom of movement. Joffre thus indirectly covered the capital, while at the same time preparing the offensive of the army that was to come from Paris. To constitute this left wing army and reinforce the armies entrusted with the converging attack against the enemy's right, Joffre did not hesitate during the retreat to displace the centre of gravity by his forces in the West. The retreat itself was carefully limited by the Heights of the Meuse and the region of Paris and in its fullest extent by the Seine between the Yonne and the Aube, and by the Aube as far as Brienne, so that all the resources of the territory flowed into this base. Finally, Joffre, in carrying out his plan, re-established and maintained the continuity of his strategic front, (1) by placing Foch's army in the gap between

his Fourth and Fifth armies; (2) by creating a cavalry corps to connect this last army with the British, and (3) by getting the British to fall back, not by the west of Paris, as they desired, but by the east, that is, in their place on the battle line.

By the time Joffre was to go on to the offensive of Sept. 6, he had built up his superiority in numbers, with fifty-six divisions against forty-four on a front of 280 kilometres, while on the same front Von Moltke had become weaker. It is enough to observe that the five German armies that had set out from their Thionville-Brussels base on Aug. 21 with a strength of fifty-three divisions had no more than forty-four on Aug. 27, when they were given the task of striking at a front that was more spread out and that united the fortified camp of Paris!

VON MOLTKE'S STRATEGY WEAK

While Joffre himself was making sure of the execution of his orders, Von Moltke was



Map showing the Western front after the end of 1914

obliged to adopt plans forced upon him by his subordinates. After having fixed upon Paris as his general direction on Aug. 27, he (Von Moltke) during the night of Sept. 2-3 ordered the line of the French Army of Paris to be broken through in the direction of the southeast. The fact was that in the meanwhile, Von Moltke's armies themselves had taken this new direction, Von Kluck on his own initiative and Von Bülow because hard fighting had forced him to do so. But this new objective did not even meet the situation, since Joffre's left wing consisted of Manoury's army in Paris, of whose existence Von Moltke was ignorant until 7 P. M. on Sept. 4, just as he did not know that Von Kluck had not retreated in formation, but had advanced, and in no way covered the right flank of the German forces. Thus Von Moltke's strategy at this period was feeble and tainted with errors. The often admirable energy shown by the German Generals could not make up for the absence of adequate direction from above. If the Germans were forced to retreat on Sept. 9 and 10 after serious battle, in order to escape the destruction of their right wing, it was not a *direct* result of the flank attack of the Sixth French Army which Von Kluck had parried, but because in parrying it he had widened the breach which separated his army from Von Bülow's and had surrendered the communications of the two armies to the Fifth French Army and the British.

The "drive to the sea," which commenced in the middle of September after the front had been established, was at the beginning no more than an exploitation of the free zone in which the two adversaries were attempting to outflank each other, strategic manoeuvres which, however, by the simultaneous movement of practically equal forces, led to the indecisive battles of the Somme (Sept. 20-30) of Arras (Oct. 2-7) and finally to the Flanders engagement, or battle of Pas-de-Calais. The latter assumed a desperate character, particularly, because of the importance of what was at stake. But when the German command decided to push an army on Calais on the day after the fall of Antwerp, which occurred on Oct. 9, the defensive plan of the Allies was organized. Foch, coordinating their operations, as the representative of the French Commander-in-Chief,

had already, since the 16th, established a continuous front as far as the sea, when, on the 19th, the battle of Flanders, or, to be more exact, the two parallel battles of the Yser and Ypres (Oct. 29-Nov. 15) began.

As far as the effect of these similar manoeuvres, aiming to gain a decision by a flank movement, is concerned, it is evident that both adversaries failed, since their forces, after fierce fighting, succeeded only in establishing an equilibrium on a fortified front. But viewed as a struggle for the possession of the strait the success of the Allies is indisputable. General von Kuhl, Chief of Staff of the Second Army, estimated its significance accurately when he declared that the war for position made Germany henceforth a besieged fortress. "Our combats," he wrote in his book, *The Marne Campaign in 1914*, "were the sorties of a garrison aimed at halting the progress of the siege until the day when, in 1918, we attempted for the last time to break the circle which hemmed us in. When this attempt failed the war was lost."

A STATIC PERIOD

But this result was far distant at the end of 1914, for the attack lacked the necessary means to overcome a defense conducted from behind trenches and protected by a deadly fire. Our strategy was therefore bound to pass through a static period, or, more exactly expressed, to be subordinated to a tactical study of the military procedure to be adopted against a fortified front. "The German offensive has been stopped," wrote Foch, the day after the battle of Ypres. "Their war of manoeuvre has failed. On the western front they have taken refuge in a strategic and tactical defensive. It is for us to attack them. How shall we overcome this double defensive, particularly the tactical defensive which at the moment prevents us from making any advance movement? This is the first question to be solved."

Thus, from the year 1914, the relative inviolability which the power of the barrage conferred on the consecutive battle-fronts impelled the two adversaries to look for a decisive battle in the free spaces, generally on the flanks. Already, they had effected,

under the protection of their battle-front, those shifts of the centre of gravity of their forces which were to become a constant practice in French warfare.

2. *Trench Warfare*—From 1915 on, the consecutive fortified front permanently covered the movement of the reserves. It gave information about the enemy, since there was close contact, but, equally, it informed the enemy and, for this very reason, rendered surprise attacks almost impossible until the day came when the entire front would be so equipped as to permit of launching an offensive at any point whatever without apparent preparations. On the other hand, the battle began with an attack on the success of which the strategic manoeuvre depended. This manoeuvre itself was based, on the Allied side, on the salient form of the German front which was utilized in combining converging offensives. Some of these offensives aimed to drive the enemy back on the wall of the Ardennes in order to deprive them of the main strategic railway, Longuyon-Sedan-Mézière-Hirson-Le Nouvion-Le Cateau, which assured their communications in the direction of the front.

Other offensives set as their goal the principal network of railroads between Arras and the Oise, necessary to the movements of the Allied reserves. But, in general, this quest of objectives, which may be qualified as "geographic," was justified by their direct relation with the existing conditions and the manoeuvres of the enemy. Thus, one sees in 1915 the Artois offensive having as its objective the compact network of Valenciennes, and the Champagne offensive the strategic railway line Sedan-Hirson-Le Nouvion. Only from this year, 1915, the defense was already too well established, too flexible for a direct penetration to succeed before the enemy reserves had been used up, and this preliminary condition led to the idea of the "wearing down" strategy of 1916.

The Germans tried it at Verdun. But Joffre foiled their plan by making all the French divisions pass through Verdun successively and by relieving them before they were exhausted, in such a way as to rebuild continuously his strategic reserves. Then he replied with the offensive of the Somme, calculated, like that of Verdun, to endure,

but containing in addition a strategic idea which was not found in the plan of opposition at Verdun, the idea of carrying a massed manoeuvre into the midst of the enemy system of communication, the region of Cambrai-le-Cateau-Meubeuge.

PROGRESS IN ALLIED UNITY IN 1916

Furthermore, this year of 1916 marked on the Allied side considerable progress in the strategy of coalition, the credit for which undoubtedly belongs to the French command. The question concerned the adoption of a unified offensive on the principal fronts—Anglo-French, Italian, and Russian—simultaneously, so as to prevent the enemy from bringing his reserves successively into play. Joffre had taken the initiative at Chantilly to unite the Allies on Dec. 6, 1915, and to bring about the adoption of this plan, which he henceforth had the moral authority to carry out. It is known that he drove the enemy very near to defeat in the Autumn of 1916. Ludendorff admits this in his war memoirs. "The troops were exhausted; we were, always on the verge of catastrophe. In spite of the victory over the Rumanian army, we were weaker in those things which concerned the general conduct of the war." It is permissible to think that, without the Russian Revolution and the crises of the French High Command, the application of this plan in 1917 would have led to the termination of the war.

The fighting plan envisaged for 1917 was to combine the strategy of "penetration" of 1915 with that of "wearing down" of 1916. They would first exhaust the enemy by renewing the battle of the Somme on a more extended front. Then they would pierce the enemy's line in Champagne by a sudden, powerful attack to be followed by strong reserves. But, on the one hand, the enemy avoided the wearing down process by retreating before the attack between the Oise and the Ancre. On the other hand, the equipment necessary to the main front line attack did not permit of its being kept a secret. Finally, this plan pre-supposed on the Allied side a superiority of numbers which did exist, when the plan was conceived, but which had already disappeared at the moment when Joffre's successor, General Nivelle, had to execute it, because the

Russian Revolution had released one part of the German forces from the Eastern front.

3. *The Strategy of 1918*—Meanwhile, toward the end of 1917, the French General Staff worked out the true conception of direct strategy, which was calculated to overthrow the consecutive front, regarded no longer as a wall to be pierced in the hope of finding beyond it open ground for manoeuvring, but rather as in itself the objective of the manoeuvre. The aim was to shake this wall, to chisel it away, to crush it piece by piece, simultaneously or successively, and then to continue the battle beyond it, coordinating action in judiciously chosen directions of offensive. This strategy necessitated a considerable superiority of forces and equipment. Although Germany, at the beginning of 1918, had a real superiority, this was not the method that she chose. Her offensives from March 21 to July 15 still seemed attempts to pierce the line and to follow this up directly, either to reach open ground, as on March 21, or to gain a certain point, as in May, or to reduce a salient, as on July 15. There was neither unity nor coordination in these efforts which were carried out in different directions. It is impossible to be satisfied with the explanation of this which Ludendorff gives in his memoirs. He declares that they had chosen those parts of the front where the enemy seemed weakest; for "without tactical success, questions of strategy could not be considered." We shall see, however, that Foch knew how to adopt a strategy of quite another kind, continuing to base it, nevertheless, on these tactical successes, which, in fact, are indispensable. It is preferable to conclude with Von Kuhl that the uncoordinated German offensives of 1918 resembled more the sallies of a besieged garrison than a real strategic manoeuvre aiming to defeat the enemy.

The strategy of Foch from July 18 till Nov. 11, 1918, bears an entirely different character. At the beginning he used the month of August for offensives of so-called "extrication" which destroyed the pockets cut into the Allied front by the German attacks during the preceding months, and regained for the Allies the use of the necessary railroads. He thus conquered the base from which the general offensive was to

emanate in September. He organized this offensive as a converging attack, dislodging the enemy front in wide sections successively, at twenty-four-hour intervals. The method was always the same: To get the enemy into a salient, to follow up the attack beyond the pivotal point, which served as bases for the enemy's successive retreats, so as to drive them out, and when they had been sufficiently dislodged, to push hard on the wings and outflank them. This explains why the American Army was commissioned between the Meuse and the Argonne to reach the Sedan region as soon as possible, in order to cut off the enemy's main strategic Western railway.

GREAT OFFENSIVE FORESTALLED BY ARMISTICE

It was to harmonize with this same plan of manoeuvre that a powerful offensive of two French armies, twenty-eight divisions (six of which were American), three cavalry divisions and 600 tanks was prepared east of the Moselle in the direction of the Middle Saar. To this massed attack the enemy could have opposed only six divisions (including three of Landwehr troops) on Nov. 14 if the armistice of the 11th had not saved their remaining troops at the moment when they were about to be crushed on their own lines of communication. Foch who was very far-sighted, was already preparing a campaign with Italian forces through Southern Germany, and his eye was fixed even beyond Bavaria and on Saxony.

To sum up, the war of 1914-1918 confirms the principles of strategy applied by the greatest Generals of history, but it reveals difficulties of application which increased with the vastness of the forces brought into play in the "total" war of armed nations. To these difficulties were added those created by the strategy of a coalition on a world scale. Neither the first nor the second were insurmountable. Joffre in 1914 and 1916 and Foch in 1918 proved this.

An examination of the strategic manoeuvres which they conceived, arranged and conducted brings out into relief the predominating part played by the commander in the great drama of preparation, execution and exploitation of the warfare carried on by army groups. The strategy of Foch in 1918, like that of Joffre on Aug. 25, 1914, led their armies logically to victory.

III—The Strategy of the Central Powers

By GEN. H. J. von KUHL

CHIEF OF STAFF OF THE GERMAN ARMY GROUP COMMANDED BY CROWN PRINCE RUPPRECHT OF BAVARIA

STRATEGY is a system of supplementation and adaptation. It requires the correct judgment of a situation continuously changing, and the taking of the simplest and most natural action with decisiveness and yet with caution. The original plan must be adapted to the constantly changing conditions. So Field Marshal Count von Moltke defines the essence of strategy.

If we wish to gain a clear understanding of the strategy of the Central Powers during the World War, we must determine what the original plan was, how it was adapted by the frequently changing military commanders to the ever changing conditions, how it was temporarily even abandoned, only to appear again prominently in the foreground.

The Chief of the General Staff, Field Marshal Count von Schlieffen, who died at the beginning of the year 1913, had orally and in writing impressed on the German General Staff the principle that the main object of war must be the annihilation of the enemy. He wanted to fight no ordinary battles, in which the foe would be attacked on his front and if fortune favored would be thrown back on his communications. The foe should be surrounded, attacked on his flank, cut off from his communications and annihilated. This principle was extraordinarily well adapted to the beginning of the operations of the Central Powers in the World War. Attacked simultaneously on the West and on the East, threatened also by England on the sea, Germany could count on victory in this unequal struggle only if she succeeded in defeating and annihilating one of her first two chief opponents, and then attacked the other. If this plan failed, the war was bound to lead to a laborious struggle in which Germany had a difficult situation to face, inasmuch as time was working in her enemy's favor.

The difficult problem, on the solution of which the war's outcome might depend, was this: In what direction, against the Rus-

sians or against the French, must Germany decide to turn first? The views of the military authorities on this problem were very divergent. After the War of 1870-71, Field Marshal von Moltke, around the year 1879, decided, in case of a war on two fronts, in favor of the first attack on Russia, inasmuch as the Northeastern frontier of France was so fortified that a quick decision in the West could not be counted on. His successor, Count von Waldersee, also fundamentally believed in this policy. Chief of General Staff Count von Schlieffen was the first to decide to attack the French, as the stronger and more dangerous foe, with the German main forces, and to draw out the war in East Prussia with weaker forces. Under this decision, the main burden of the war against Russia fell at once on the Austro-Hungarian Army.

This plan was carried out in its essential features in August, 1914, by Count von Schlieffen's successor, the younger Von Moltke. In this he was moved by the consideration that otherwise, if Germany marched with her main forces to the East, the Russians would avoid a decisive attack by falling back into the interior of their vast territory, so that the attack would fail completely of its object, and that meanwhile the French would be able to march against the Rhine.

Between Krefeld and Metz, therefore, in August, 1914, the German main forces assembled to advance through Belgium and North France. With the left wing resting on the fortified Mosel district, Diedenhofen-Metz, the great left swing was to be effected, while the right wing was to be so extended that the French were bound to be surrounded in every case, whatever position they might take. It is true that this plan made it necessary to violate Belgium's neutrality. The march through Belgium was commanded by necessity in the struggle for Germany's existence. The swift termination of this struggle would not have been possible if the German commander had at-

tacked the fortified Northeastern frontier of France and let himself in for a long siege of the fortresses. The weighty political considerations which opposed this policy must necessarily be taken into account.

During the march through Belgium and North France, according to Von Schlieffen's original plan, only comparatively weak forces were to cover the left flank of the great movement in Alsace-Lorraine. If the plan was to succeed, the right wing must be as strong as possible; while the left wing in Alsace-Lorraine was to be made as weak as possible. Unfortunately General von Moltke did not carry through ruthlessly in 1914 the division of forces foreseen by Count von Schlieffen on the basis of this principle. He hesitated to leave Alsace-Lorraine defenseless against the French attack expected there, and therefore he strengthened the left wing in this zone not inconsiderably. As a consequence, the determining right wing lacked the indispensable reserves it needed.

At first, however, this lack did not show itself in the battles of August, 1914. The French and English were defeated along the whole line as far as Mons in Belgium, in the various battles fought at Saarburg, Longwy, Neufchateau, Namur and Mons. But the great blow against the French which was to have annihilated them and brought a decision, failed. The German army leaders, after the victories attained in the August battles, and on the basis of the reports from the various armies of decisive victories, reached the erroneous conclusion that the decision in the West was already attained, and that the time had come for the transportation of forces to the East. They thus let themselves be so led astray as to send two army corps to the East, where the situation seemed grave. Thus the German army on Sept. 6, 1914, entered the great and decisive Battle of the Marne with inadequate forces. Nevertheless the battle seemed in general to be going favorably to the Germans on Sept. 9, apart from a rather considerable gap in the German battle line, and at some points even splendidly, when as the result of a series of untoward circumstances and German blunders the battle had to be broken off by the Germans, and the Marne campaign ended in a defeat.

Meanwhile the weak Eighth Army in East Prussia had succeeded in destroying the Russian Nareva Army at Tannenberg and then in throwing back the Niemen Army with serious Russian losses—one of the most famous military achievements of the World War. But the offensive undertaken from Galicia against the Russian southern front by the German General, Marshal Conrad von Hötzendorf, ended in a severe defeat. The German main forces expected by him, which after the hoped-for decision in the West in accordance with the plan agreed on, were to be moved to the East, did not arrive. The outcome of the Battle of the Marne had made this impossible.

NEW CAMPAIGNS END IN DEADLOCK

On the East, as on the West, what the Germans had hoped for had not been attained in the first operations of the World War. A decisive victory in the West had slipped through the German commander's fingers; the great movement to the East against the other enemy could not be carried out. General von Falkenhayn, who now took over the post of Chief of the General Staff in succession to Von Moltke, faced a difficult task, which he attacked with energy and courage. He tried anew to carry through the original plan of an envelopment of the Franco-British left wing. But the enemy was planning a similar envelopment of the German right wing. Hence both sides at the front, French and German alike, drew on all the forces they could spare and marched them westward, striving to reach the vicinity north of the Oise, with the aim of winning a victory over the enemy's flank. But in this "Race Toward the Sea" the enemy [France] who disposed of better railway communications, had a considerable advantage. On both sides the front was lengthened to the sea. In the battle of the Iser and Ypres the two other wings of the opposing forces came into hostile contact. Neither of the two opponents succeeded in overpowering the other, and by the middle of November, 1914, active war in the West was at an end; from the Swiss border to the North Sea the two sides lay strongly entrenched facing each other.

Meanwhile, in the East a renewed Austrian offensive, undertaken with strong Ger-

man support in South Poland, ended in failure. But Field Marshal von Hindenburg, who had been named Commander-in-Chief in the East, through a bold, brilliantly executed flank attack from the direction of Thorn-Gnesen, checked at last the great offensive of the Grand Duke Nikolai Nikolaievich, whose army was moving from the Vistula toward Silesia. In the second half of December, however, after the battle of Lodz, the eastern front also became immobilized in trench warfare. The German reinforcements brought from the West came too late to lead to any decisive result.

The German plan of campaign had failed. The strength of the German Army had consisted chiefly in its adaptation to active warfare. The best trump had now been played. Germany, shut off on the east and west, and also cut off from the sea, became a beleaguered fortress. In the event that the previous sources of supply should fail, it would have to be shown how long the German people would be able to stand the cutting down of their food supply, and finally hunger, before collapsing, and how long it would be possible to provide the required war material despite the pressing lack of raw materials. With every further year of war the superiority of our foe in numbers and war material became more pronounced. The whole issue depended on breaking at the right moment the iron ring which hemmed Germany in, and restoring the free development of our strength in active warfare. The situation was grave, but by no means hopeless.

DECISION NOW SOUGHT IN EAST

In these circumstances the eyes of the German Army commanders turned again to the East. There a decision was still to be hoped for, there such a decision was even urgent, as the condition of the Danube monarchy gave ground for much anxiety. The front of the Austro-Hungarian Army was weakening in the Carpathians. A Russian invasion of Hungary, which might lead to the collapse of the Danube monarchy, must, by all means, be prevented. General von Falkenhayn decided in the Spring of 1915 to strike a great blow in the East. The Russian front was to be broken in Galicia, at Gorlice-Tarnov. His aim was to paralyze the Russians' power of offensive. To over-

throw the Russian Empire was no part of his plan. He wanted to be ready at any time to help the Western front whenever the situation there became threatening.

With splendid dash and vigor the Russian front was broken in May and the operation victoriously carried through. But on May 23, 1915, Italy entered the war on the side of the Central Powers' foes. Great things were accomplished, but the encirclement and annihilation of the enemy were not effected. The Russian Army escaped, though only with gigantic losses, from the Vistula front into the interior of their vast territory. Russia was not definitively overthrown. The original intention in a war on two fronts to finish definitively with one foe, so as to be able to attack the other, was unfortunately abandoned.

General von Falkenhayn had finally reached the conclusion that the decision in the great struggle could not be reached by the domination of our foe. He opposed a "reaching out into the infinite" in the Summer campaign in Russia in 1915, and refused his consent to the plan of Field Marshal von Hindenburg, Supreme Commander in the East, who, in agreement with his Chief of General Staff, General Ludendorff, wished to annihilate the retreating Russian Army through a widely extended encirclement by way of Kovno-Vilna. The German Chief of General Staff believed that he must avoid any strain, either on the inner or outer resources of the Central Powers, so that by a carefully calculated economizing of war material, Germany might hold out until the will to war of the enemy abated.

Without a decisive victory in the East, however, it was not possible for us to turn all our forces to the West. What Falkenhayn expected from the success of the offensive of 1915 was only a weakening and paralyzing of the enemy's strength. This paralysis was, it is true, sufficient to give the Central Powers in the Fall of 1915 time to overthrow Serbia, to beat off the heavy attacks of the British and French in the West and the Italian attack on the Isonzo in 1915, but it did not allow Germany in the following year to use her whole strength in the place where eventually the decision must be secured.

Falkenhayn was able to undertake only one offensive of limited scope at Verdun in

the West in 1916, and this failed, while the Austro-Hungarian front collapsed at Luzk in the East in the same year before the storm-attack of the Russian Army, which had not been by any means sufficiently paralyzed. An offensive by Field Marshal Conrad von Hötzendorf against the Italians had no decisive results. When then in the West, in the Battle of the Somme, the German front stood up against the overpowering British-French attack only with difficulty, and in August, 1916, Rumania joined the Central Powers' foes, one of the gravest crises of the World War began for the Central Powers. The longer the war lasted the greater grew the danger that Germany would be forced to her knees by England, mistress of the seas, through the blockade.

In this difficult situation, the hope of the German people rested on the men who had won the brilliant victories in the East. Hindenburg and Ludendorff at the end of August, 1916, took over from Falkenhayn the supreme command of the army. To force a decision and to break the ring around Germany by a powerful blow was the aim which the new leaders set before themselves. They wished not to endure, but to conquer. The threat from Rumania was eliminated in the Autumn of 1916 by a brilliant campaign which led to the complete overthrow of this nation. We did not, unfortunately, succeed in solving adequately the problem of a unified command for the Central Powers. As usual in coalition wars, we were able only to reach a compromise which did not make it possible to place the direction of the whole fighting power of the Central Powers into one hand. The bitter lesson of the year 1916 had not been sufficient to overcome all the obstacles. A unified concentration of all available forces at the decisive point was not reached and was not realized until the end of the war.

DESPERATE RESORT TO U-BOAT WARFARE

The new Supreme Command had now to draw up its plan for 1917. A great and decisive offensive was beyond the strength of the Central Powers. In the West it was impossible so long as Russia was not forced to make peace. But to undertake a powerful offensive against Russia was not feasible in view of the tense situation in the

West and the superiority of our opponents there.

In these circumstances, a decisive means of ending the war presented itself in the U-boat campaign. On Feb. 1, 1917, unlimited warfare was opened by our U-boats, through which the Chief of the German Admiralty reckoned that England would be forced to make peace within six months. At the same time we had to expect that the United States would now enter the war against Germany, and such was the case, for President Wilson, on April 6, 1917, declared war against us. But it was believed by the German military staff that it would take the Americans considerable time to assemble a war army of sufficient strength to be effective and transport it to Europe. Meanwhile the Central Powers carried their submarine offensive over the sea.

The order of the day was to remain on the defensive on land. Through a skillful retreat into the vantage point between Arras and Soissons, Hindenburg, in March, 1917, forestalled the enemy's intentions to attack, saved reserves from the shortened lines and took up a defensive position along the entire Western front. In the great battles in the Spring near Arras, on the Aisne and in Champagne, and in Flanders in the Autumn of 1917, all of which imposed unprecedented tasks on the German troops, our forces succeeded by the exertion of every effort in holding their position. But the hope for a decision through the U-boats was not fulfilled. The submarine campaign did bring England near the edge of the abyss, but did not force her to her knees. The right moment for the opening of the U-boat warfare had been missed; had it been opened earlier and carried through ruthlessly, it might have been successful. The irresolution of our policy had prevented this and given the English time to find active measures of defense. Also the German fleet had not been able to prevent Germany's cutting off from the sea. What our fleet might have accomplished and what influence it might have had on the course of the war had it not been held back in the first war years by political considerations, it demonstrated on May 31, 1916, in the Battle of the Skagerrak.

An event of colossal importance then

came to the aid of the German Supreme Command. On March 18, 1917, revolution broke out in Russia, shaken to the depths by her continuous defeats. Though revolutionary Russia was swept into another short offensive, it collapsed finally from strong German counter offensives, and on Dec. 14, 1917, Russia was forced to conclude an armistice with the Central Powers.

The German Supreme Command still felt itself strong enough to send an army to aid its heavily pressed Austro-Hungarian allies in Italy. In October, 1917, they succeeded in breaking through the Italian front at Tolmein and Flitsch, and in inflicting an unprecedented defeat on Italy, which she was unable to recover from up to the very end of the war.

So at last the German Supreme Command was relieved of anxiety over Germany's allies; at last it had cleared away the foes behind its back in the East, so that it could hold on in the West until the great blow it contemplated could be struck which would bring the end of the war. The leading thought of the strategy of the Central Powers in the World War seemed to be near fulfillment. All available German forces were concentrated on the Western front. It is true that it was over-late for this decisive battle. The German situation with respect to reserves was becoming more and more difficult, and the endurance of the home people was weakening. The hunger blockade was undermining the nation and threatened to exhaust it progressively. Thus no time could be lost. Before the Americans appeared on the Western front in force, the decisive blow must be struck.

So the momentous decision was reached in the Spring of 1918, to attack the English between Arras and La Fère. This attack seemed favorable tactically and might have a great strategical success, if we succeeded in cutting off the great mass of the English from the French Army and in forcing through our way to the coast. The strength of the German Army was still sufficient to accomplish this great stroke. But it would be its last powerful effort; if this offensive failed, the war was lost for Germany.

GREAT WESTERN OFFENSIVES FAIL

The offensive, which began on March 21, 1918, had an extraordinary tactical success.

The Fifth English Army was completely shattered. The attacker penetrated the foe's positions to a depth of sixty kilometers, and 90,000 prisoners fell into his hands. With the exertion of only a slight additional effort, the Germans would have finally broken through. The English were already considering retreat toward the Channel harbors, the French falling back on Paris, when they succeeded at the last moment in effecting a reunion at Amiens.

Without losing any time the German Supreme Command started a new offensive at another point. On April 9 the English were attacked again at Armentières in Flanders. But this time, also, after great initial success, the force of the attack at the end of April was exhausted; and in Flanders also the desired object of a battle in the open field was not attained.

Obstinately, the German Supreme Command held to the original plan to defeat the British. But to strike in the same place in Flanders was impossible; the British and also a part of the French reserves were concentrated there. They must first be led away by an attack at another point; and not until then would the main blow, which was to be carefully prepared in the meantime, be struck. It was decided to attack the French positions between Soissons and Rheims, where the Germans hoped to surprise the enemy. This object was actually attained, and our success was brilliant. At the end of May the Germans stood again at the Marne, and threatened Paris. But after the fighting, a wide arc projecting to the Marne and toward the foe had come into existence, which was menaced on both sides. This position was untenable and had to be adjusted before the main attack could be carried out in Flanders. In the middle of July Rheims was therefore attacked on both sides. But this time the surprise prepared failed, and the enemy avoided the blow near Rheims by withdrawing to a position further back, and so the offensive failed.

TIDE TURNED BY AMERICANS

In this situation the Germans received a surprisingly strong counterblow on their right flank from the woods of Villers-Cotterêts, and were forced to retreat in the line north of Soissons. The turning of the tide in the war situation had begun; the

Flanders offensive had to be given up and the whole army front was placed on the defensive. The initiative now finally went to our foes. Our utmost efforts had not succeeded in bringing victory, before the Americans could throw their decisive weight into the scales. From now on the superiority of our foes was overpowering. The power of resistance of our Austro-Hungarian allies, who had based all their hopes on the success of the German offensive, also collapsed.

That the offensive did not succeed was due chiefly to the fact that the various attacks could not be followed up one on another, but were separated by long intervals, while those of our foe could be constantly renewed. The forces which were needed for the separate attacks had each time to be detached from the former fighting front and transferred to the new front, and they first required completion and rest. This took much time, which was all to the enemy's advantage. But fresh forces were no longer available; there was no other recourse. It is not surprising that the strength of the German Army, after all these unprecedented efforts, should have weakened.

The troops were utterly exhausted, their morale had sunk low after the failure of our offensive, and, lastly, the revolutionary undermining of the army set on foot by evil elements at home and the poisonous propaganda of the enemy found the ground for their destructive activity favorably prepared.

Slowly, with vigorous opposition, the German lines slipped back from position to position, until on Oct. 5, 1918, the German Government, at the behest of the Supreme Military Command, had to decide to offer President Wilson an armistice and peace proposal. The German Revolution, which broke out on Nov. 9, destroyed all discipline behind the front, knocked the swords out of the commanders' hands, hindered every further resistance and forced Germany to yield to the hardest conditions which were ever laid on a brave people after a heroic struggle.

The causes of Germany's defeat have been made clear by what has gone before. The Italian statesman Nitti is right when he says that without the intervention of the United States the war would have been lost by the Entente Powers.



Should Race and Religion Be a Bar To Immigrants?

I—A Plea for the National Origins Plan

By DAVID A. OREBAUGH

MEMBER OF THE CHICAGO BAR; AUTHOR OF LEGAL WORKS

THE passage by Congress at its late session of the resolution postponing the Presidential proclamation inaugurating the national origins quota division of the 1924 Immigration law and the subsequent adjournment of Congress have been followed by a period of inactivity on the part of the defenders of that legislation which bodes ill for the policy of restrictive immigration as a whole.

Unfortunately, the average business and professional man of American ancestry has but a vague conception of the meaning and importance of the national origins plan. If questioned on the subject he will regard his interlocutor with a fishy and uncomprehending eye. If we remark to him that a strongly organized and well financed effort is being made by alien groups to repeal the national origins provision, his implied, if not spoken, response will be (in popular parlance): "What of it? I should worry!"

Alien organizations on the other hand, or their accredited representatives, not only have a thorough understanding of what the national origins plan is, but are keenly alive to its potentialities as a restrictive measure. Knowing its avowed purpose, namely, to achieve an equitable basis of immigrant representation in this country (and thus to take the subject out of the field of controversy), they denounce it as unfair and discriminatory. Despite their charges of discrimination the various alien blocs are not actually content to share equitably or proportionally the advantages of American *domicilium*, but each persistently seeks special advantages for its own nationals.

In their efforts the blocs recently have been greatly heartened by both the Presidential candidates, who in their respective

speeches of acceptance have evinced hostility to the law. Mr. Hoover has expressly stated that he favors the repeal of the national origins quota basis, while Mr. Smith has said that he is opposed to a quota basis thirty-eight years old (referring to the 1890 2 per cent. basis now in force). Mr. Hoover's statement needs no interpretation; he is frankly against the national-origins plan and if elected will presumably (unless made to see the error of his position) exert his influence to effect its repeal.* By implication Mr. Smith favors the admission of two or some higher per centum of foreign-born resident here in 1920, which from both an economic and racial viewpoint would be equivalent to unrestricted immigration.

Thus the national origins plan has become a sort of "homeless Hector" repudiated by the leaders of both the great political parties.

The unanimity of purpose of the foreign groups in seeking the repeal of the national origins feature was evidenced by their activity before the Committees on Immigration of both the Senate and House of Representatives at the last two sessions of Congress. At the hearings of the House Committee held on Jan. 18, 19 and 26, 1927, an elaborate protest against the national origins quota basis was made by the Steuben Society, the Hungarian Literary Society, the Lithuanian Alliance of America, the Lithuanian Roman Catholic Alliance of America, the National Croatian Society, the National

*It is quite clear that Mr. Hoover has not apprehended the possibilities of racial and national disaster involved in the repeal of national origins. This is not surprising since many other intelligent men have been misled by insidious alien propaganda against the law. It takes more than a superficial survey of the subject to discern the destructive consequences potential upon a repeal of the national origins basis.

Polish Alliance, the Order of the Sons of Italy, the Polish Citizens Club, the Ukrainian National Association, the German Catholic Societies, the Transylvanian Saxon Society, the American Equality Committee and others.

These organizations, whose names are indicative of the character of their membership and to a large extent of their motives and purposes, through their representatives protested to the committee in a suspiciously vehement vein that in their opposition to the national origins quota basis they were actuated solely by their concern for the "future of America." The representative of the Steuben Society, representing also other alien organizations, urged the *unfairness* of the national origins plan and insisted upon its repeal, at the same time protesting that he was appearing before the committee "for the sake of the United States of America; for the welfare of the United States of America, and nothing else."

If these organizations and the individuals representing them are sincere in their protestations, it is obvious that to them the future welfare of America is synonymous with the unrestricted admission to this country of their respective nationals. There is a wide divergence, however, in the opinions held by the alien blocs and those held by scientists as to what will best promote the welfare of America from the standpoint of social, civic and racial values. That such welfare has not been promoted by the hitherto unrestricted admission of aliens is the consensus of opinion, and it is the increasingly firm conviction of thinking Americans that the national welfare as conceived by the Fathers never will be promoted thereby. That the unassimilable and disharmonic racial elements of Eastern and Southern Europe can overwhelm the old American stock (the product of the world's most homogeneous races), but never can improve it, is conceded by all our ablest students.

The attitude of the alien groups, therefore, in putting up an organized fight against restrictive immigration in general, and the national origins plan in particular, not only belies their sincerity, but gives rise to the conviction that their solicitude is not so much for the "welfare of Amer-

ica" as for the economic and political welfare of their immigrant nationals and for the transplanting and strengthening of their Old World traditions and ideals on American soil. Their attitude and purpose is typically indicated by a recent communication from an immigrant to a Chicago daily paper:

I am an immigrant, naturalized, but proud of my native land. You want to teach us to change our way of life and wipe out our background. You will do nothing of the kind. When I came here as a girl you were a race of prudes. Women were so modest and sweet, men so sickening in their milk-sop politeness. You have not changed us; we changed you. Today men and women are free. We dress as we please, talk plainly as we please, smoke as and where we please. Everybody is equal everywhere, on cars, on streets, in all places. We are no longer jailed for smoking or talking or acting just as we did at home. We have changed you, and you will not make sops of us.

This individual, womanlike, plainly speaks her mind and voices without reserve or hypocrisy the prevailing alien sentiment. It will be noted that she is proud, not of America (where she gains her livelihood and where she evidently is content to remain) with its old-fashioned ideals of decency and morality, but of her native land and its decadent ideals, manners and customs.

GOOD FAITH DOUBTED

Let us assume that the solicitude of the alien blocs for the welfare of America contemplates no action subversive of the ideals and institutions of its founders. If this premise is accepted (and no foreign group dares openly to deny it) their bad faith in seeking the repeal of the national origins plan is clearly demonstrable. The admittedly arbitrary and discriminatory 1890 2 per cent. quota basis now in operation, while not inherently bad from the standpoint of the racial and national welfare, nevertheless affords the protagonists of an unrestricted immigration a welcome pretext for attacks upon the law. Its arbitrary character has a tendency to bring all restriction into disrepute with the unthinking; and this is its chief weakness.

This pretext and this tendency the national origins plan effectually eliminates by providing a quota for each foreign country in proportion to the number of its nationals now here, than which it would seem

no proposal could be more just and fair. Criticism, except of the carping kind, is thus disarmed. Specifically, the act of 1924 provides that on and after July 1, 1927, and for each fiscal year thereafter, the number of quota immigrants of any nationality shall bear the same ratio to 150,000 (the total number admissible from all countries in any one year) as the number of individuals in Continental United States in 1920 having that national origin bears to the total number of inhabitants as determined by the census of 1920. In other words, any foreign country which has contributed, say, 20 per cent. of the total population in the United States in 1920 would be entitled to send each year a number of immigrants equal to 20 per cent. of 150,000 as its quota under the law.

The inherent fairness of this arrangement must be apparent to any normal intelligence. It is fair not only to each foreign bloc but to the great mass of native Americans.

Even if we admit that the Government is under obligations to be "fair" to the blocs in the assigning of immigrant quotas, the insincerity and hypocrisy of their solicitude for America is no less apparent. That the Congress must be "fair" to the various nationalities is an erroneous assumption universally indulged by the enemies of the restrictive principle. As a matter of fact, from the standpoint of our sovereign right as a nation we are under no obligations to be fair to the foreign States whose nationalities have voluntarily sought domicile here.

AMERICA'S NEED

America has a population of approximately 115,000,000 and no public domain, a highly developed industrial and transportation system and a more or less distinctive culture. The natural increase of the present population will be sufficient fully to utilize all her material and cultural resources in the future. She does not need more people. What America does need is racial, political and national homogeneity, the maturing of a like-minded population by the fusion of the alien elements now lawfully here into the American mass by more intimate contact with the older American population and by directing them away

in mind and body as far and as quickly as possible from foreign institutions, ideals and traditions. This is not to cast any invidious reflections upon the institutions and ideals of the European homelands or to question their intrinsic values to the peoples and the lands that called them into being.

The most pronounced hyphenate when driven into a logical corner will grudgingly concede that the assimilation, as popularly understood, of the alien population is desirable. His personal and private conception, however, of what constitutes assimilation is quite a different matter. To him it means the adaptation of the older American population to the imported ideals and standards of his native land, rather than the adjustment of his fellow-nationals to American standards and customs. That this is not an overstatement is clearly manifest from a single example among scores that might be cited—the effort of the Italian Government to retain the allegiance of its emigrant subjects in all parts of the world and the sympathetic reception given that and similar efforts by resident aliens.

But if we credit our hyphenate friends with sincerity in their desire to be Americanized in the current meaning of the term, how is that end to be attained if the gates are let down to other hordes?

The special pleading of the opponents of the national origins plan is illustrated by their contention that it is impossible to arrive at an accurate estimate of the national origin of the various racial elements in the country, and that it is therefore unfair to all. That a man of the acute mentality and far-flung experience of Mr. Hoover should have been impressed by this specious argument is one of the inexplicable phenomena of the times. Apparently he has adopted the assertions of the alien groups without adequate study of the facts. In his speech of acceptance he states that he has found it impossible to arrive at a national origins quota basis "accurately and without hardship."

A quite natural curiosity prompts the inquiry, What constitutes "hardship" in the mind of Mr. Hoover? Does he regard it a hardship that each European country would be permitted to send its nationals here in numbers *proportionate* to its contribution to the entire population prior to 1920? Is

he opposed to a *proportionate* distribution of the total immigration among the various countries? Or does he think that some country or countries should have a *disproportionate* share? Does he favor the Germans, for instance, above the British, the Belgians above the Dutch, the French above the Scandinavians, or has he any conceivable preference with which the national origins plan would conflict? Does he deem it a hardship upon European countries that the old American, English-speaking stock, constituting 60 per cent. of the population, insists upon proportionate representation in the country which its genius has established and maintained? Or does the fact that absolute accuracy cannot be attained in the estimating of national origins irk the engineering mind to the extent that it is willing to sacrifice substantial justice to all the groups, as well as to the great mass of the native born, to a theoretical and technical accuracy?

BEGGING THE QUESTION

As a matter of fact the whole "accuracy" argument is a begging of the question—the setting up of a man of straw to be demolished for the distraction of the unthinking. It must be conceded, of course, that absolute numerical accuracy as to the national origin of the various groups is unattainable; but it is absurd to contend that this is essential to the successful inauguration of the plan. It is sufficient if the proportions of the various racial stocks be broadly approximated and a working basis established that will be practically fair to all. This has been accomplished by the committee of which Mr. Hoover was a member, even granting his assertions of inaccuracy in the committee's report.

Nothing but additional bickering and confusion will be accomplished by delaying the practical application of the national origins plan, and the longer the delay the more insurmountable will be the difficulties. The only way definitely to settle the controversy and to take the immigration question permanently out of politics is to set the plan in operation by Presidential proclamation. When it is once put in force the whole foundation of alien argument will be demolished. The blocs will then be forced either to come out into the open and frankly ad-

vocate on its merits the desirability of unrestricted immigration or to abandon the struggle.

The most plausible pretext advanced by the alien organizations for the relaxation of present restrictions, and one calculated to appeal strongly to the soft-hearted and unthinking is that relatives of immigrants in the old countries are prevented from joining their kindred here. It is urged on humanitarian grounds that wives and children and other relatives should be permitted to join the husband and father in America without regard to quota restrictions.

The primary purpose of this agitation is not so much the relief of individual cases of hardship as to create sentiment against the law and to bring upon members of Congress the pressure of their constituents to the end that a policy of relaxation may be sanctioned and entered upon, to make an apparently unimportant, though in reality a serious, breach in the wall of restriction through which many thousands of their countrymen may enter, and at the same time to establish a precedent for further relaxation of the restrictive and selective principle.

A little reflection makes it apparent that the man who leaves his family in Europe and comes to America is not necessarily an object of sympathy. He knew before leaving his native shores the chances of his family being able to come in under subsequent quotas. By his own voluntary act he has entailed upon himself and them the hardship of separation. But in his case the law is not unreasonably rigorous, since by Section 6 thereof preferences within the quotas are provided under which, if he has become a citizen, his wife, minor children and parents may be admitted.

Notwithstanding the palpable selfishness and insincerity of the alien groups, they have twice succeeded by their protests before the Committee on Immigration in postponing the Presidential proclamation putting into effect the national origins plan. At the last session of the Sixty-ninth Congress alien influence procured the passage of a resolution postponing the proclamation for one year, or until April 1, 1928, and at the first session of the Seventieth Congress the same influences succeeded in postponing Presidential action for another year. This is a victory for the enemies of the restric-

tive principle the sinister import of which should not be underestimated.

The time to gird our loins for battle is here and now. The crisis is upon us. If the alien organizations and their political henchmen succeed in emasculating the present law, our greatest safeguard against the

spread of national degeneracy will have been removed. If it fails to maintain the barrier of immigration restriction, America will have demonstrated its incapacity further to resist the inroads of the degeneracy which arises from the mixture of unassimilable and disharmonic races.

II—National Origins Plan as a Bar Against Catholics and Jews

By MAJOR FIORELLO H. LAGUARDIA

CONGRESSMAN FROM THE TWENTIETH DISTRICT, NEW YORK CITY; FORMER PRESIDENT BOARD OF ALDERMEN OF NEW YORK CITY

MR. DAVID A. OREBAUGH in his article on the Immigration act of 1924 works up to the startling climax that "selfish and insincere alien groups have twice succeeded in postponing Presidential proclamations putting into effect the National Origins Plan." He states and charges specifically that "at the last session of the Sixty-ninth Congress alien influence procured the passage of a resolution postponing the proclamation for one year, or until April 1, 1928, and at the first session of the Seventieth Congress the same influences succeeded in postponing Presidential action for another year." Let us examine the "influences" and the real reasons for postponement. The President's message of Jan. 7, 1927, is known as Senate Document No. 193, Sixty-ninth Congress. The law required that the determination of the number allowed to the various races under the so-called National Origins Plan should be made by the Secretary of State, the Secretary of Commerce and the Secretary of Labor. Here is what these officials stated in suggesting a postponement of the law:

Although this is the best information we have been able to secure, we wish to call attention to the reservations made by the committee and to state that in our opinion the statistical and historical information available raises grave doubts as to the whole value of these computations as a basis for the purposes intended. We therefore cannot assume responsibility for such conclusions under these circumstances.

FRANK B. KELLOGG, Secretary of State.
HERBERT HOOVER, Secretary of Commerce.
JAMES J. DAVIS, Secretary of Labor.

Surely three Cabinet officers designated by the law itself to work out the plan cannot be properly classified as a "selfish and insincere alien group."

It so happens that even one of Mr. Orebaugh's "own group" joined in the resolution postponing the plan, none other than the "one hundred per center Thomas Heflin." When the resolution was before the Senate on March 20, 1928, the Senator made this statement, which may be found on Page 5242 of the Congressional Record of March 20, 1928:

MR. HEFLIN: Mr. President, in view of the fact that this (resolution to postpone National Origins Plan) in no way changes the immigration law, I shall not insist on my objection at this time. I have worked for twenty years in the two houses to strengthen the immigration law, to restrict immigration, and I do not want any loopholes made in the law by any separate enactments from time to time. Since I am assured that the committee, composed of Democrats and Republicans and Progressives, all agree that this measure should pass at this time, I will not object.

So after all, the alleged "victory for the enemies of the restricted principle the sinister import of which should not be underestimated," again quoting from Mr. Orebaugh, is the direct result of the recommendation of three members of the President's Cabinet, after a vain attempt for two years to determine the figures, and they were joined by the most rabid restrictionists in and out of Congress. The record is entirely bare of any other influence.

Then again, Mr. Orebaugh sounding the clarion call to "gird our loins for battle

here and now," complains bitterly that a horde of aliens appeared before the committee at the hearings held on Jan. 18, 19 and 26, 1927, and protested vehemently. Of the eighty-two pages composing the record, sixty-four pages are devoted entirely to the statements of the Government representative and to friends of the National Origins Plan and eighteen pages to the representatives of organizations in opposition thereto. (Hearing No. 69.2.1.) A reading of the hearings will disclose the attitude of the committee toward the various persons who appeared before it.

THE PRESENT QUOTA

Just what the National Origins Plan may really mean, notwithstanding the description contained in Mr. Orebaugh's article, may best be gleaned by simply quoting the estimated figures thereof. Under the present law the total number of quota immigrants allowed in one calendar year is 164,647. Under the estimated figure submitted by the commission in 1924 the number permitted under the National Origins Plan was 150,000, and, according to the estimate submitted on Feb. 27, 1928, it is 153,685. Neither Mr. Orebaugh nor the few individuals supporting the National Origins Plan hide the fact that its sole purpose is to increase the quotas from certain countries and decrease the allowance from other countries. They describe it more eloquently and with more high sounding names, but, stripped of all insincerity and cant, it is simply writing into the law part of the program of the discredited and disappearing order of the Ku Klux Klan in its intolerant and bigoted program against certain races and certain religions.

The whole plan is the creation of a narrow mind, nurtured by a hating heart. The first figures submitted with this novel and far-fetched plan betray the real purpose of its bigoted authors. Of the 150,000 in the original estimate submitted to Congress in 1924, 85,135 were allotted to Great Britain and North Ireland. This left less than half, or to be specific, 74,865, to be allotted to the rest of the world comprising twenty-nine different countries. It allotted to Germany 20,028, which left but 54,000 to be divided among the twenty-eight remaining countries of the world. Such allowance

permitted of the boast that Jews and Catholics were practically shut off from entering the country. To prove this point it was gleefully pointed out that instead of taking Great Britain and Ireland as one or taking Great Britain and Ireland separately, Great Britain was taken together with the North of Ireland, or as the Klansmen emphasized, "Protestant Ireland." This juggling naturally reduced the quota from the Irish Free State where the emigration is mostly Catholic. The Irish Free State's quota is reduced from 28,567 to 17,427. The figures speak for themselves.

On Jan. 7, 1927, the first official figures were submitted to Congress. The number determined for Great Britain was within a thousand of the original estimate above given; to Germany within 3,000 of the original estimate. Much to the embarrassment and confusion of the sponsors, who sought in certain quarters to disguise the real mathematics of the scheme by creating the so-called Nordic idea, the figures determined by the committee did not go far enough. All arguments, estimates and promises that the Nordic countries besides Great Britain would have a corresponding increase over the Southern and Eastern European countries went to pieces. Denmark, which is allowed 2,789 immigrants under the 1890 census basis, was reduced to 945 under the original estimate; Norway from 6,453 to 2,053, though pegged up later (1927) to 2,403; Mohammedan Turkey jumped from 100 to 233, Sweden from 9,561 under the present act decreased to 3,072, with a promise of about 300 more under the estimated figures of 1928. It was this predicament which first caused panic in 1927 among the sponsors of the National Origin Plan. In the hope of being able to juggle figures again or to determine quotas by synthetic statistics the "study" of the problem was continued another year. The figures were so confused and, as frankly stated in the statement submitted by the President of the United States, so uncertain and unsatisfactory that it was simply impossible to put the plan in operation.

Every time consideration is given to the plan there is such variance of figures as to make the report entirely irreconcilable with its predecessor.

The whole plan is uncertain and inaccurate.

rate. It can be figured out any way according to who does the figuring, which proves its unscientific basis. Mr. Orebaugh would make one believe that it is very simple. He states boldly, in the face of the statements submitted by the President, that it would be possible to proclaim the determination and put the law into effect. But let the expert from the Census Bureau who worked out these figures speak. To Joseph A. Hill, Assistant to the Director of the Census, was assigned the task of working out the mathematics of this strange proposition. The committee did the best they could under the circumstances and here is how it worked out. Mr. Hill says:

Now, we realize, and I think every one realizes, that you cannot classify the population of the United States into so many distinct classes, and say there are so many people here who are of English descent and so many here who are of Scotch descent, so many of Irish descent, &c., because the population through intermarriage has become very much mixed as regards national origin * * * that being the case we had to assume at the outset that by number of inhabitants of English origin, for instance, is meant the amount of English stock in the United States expressed as equivalent to so many inhabitants.

PROBLEM OF RACIAL MIXTURE

In other words, the committee which labored with this plan had the task of not only ascertaining the number of various races in the United States from 1790 to 1920, but also to ascertain the proportionate racial mixtures in each individual and credit that particular country with so many fractions of each human being. To quote again from Mr. Hill's testimony:

For instance, if you had four people, each of whom had one German grandparent and three English grandparents, so that each of them was three-fourths English and one-fourth German, we can say that we have the equivalent here of three English persons and one German person. In other words, we had to take the inhabitants as a unit of measure in which to express the amount of English blood or Irish blood, &c., that is found in the American people of the present day.

And yet the plan is called simple, logical scientific and necessary. Here are just a few of the things the committee was required to do to obtain even a semblance of a report in compliance with the requirements of the law. The committee first analyzed the number of immigrants from the

records of immigration from 1820 to date; second, the decennial census from 1850 to 1900; third, a classification was made of the racial stock of the white population enumerated in the census of 1790; fourth, the white population of the United States was divided into two main portions or divisions—(a) one representing the population which is the descent of the inhabitants enumerated at the first census of 1790, which was called "original native stock"; (b) the other comprising the population which is descended from and consists of immigrants who have come into this country since 1790, including immigrants themselves, children, grandchildren and great grandchildren. A perfectly simple matter, says Mr. Orebaugh.

Lest it be said that the scheme is purposely made intricate, involved or even senseless by the writer, it is best to quote the statement made by the expert as to just how the proposed figures were reached. Continuing Mr. Hill's testimony, which by the way may be found in the hearings referred to by Mr. Orebaugh held by the Committee on Immigration on Jan. 18, 1927 (Page 7):

CENSUS EXPERT'S TESTIMONY

Mr. Hill: Let me explain, if you have this table before you, just what it means and how it is to be read. Suppose we take for illustration age group 35-40. Those persons who were from 35 to 40 in 1920 were born between 1880 and 1885. That generation, born between 1880 and 1885, has been enumerated four times in the censuses of the United States. It was enumerated for the first time in 1890 when it was between five and ten years of age, and at that time the census showed that 76.17 per cent. of these native children between 5 and 10 years of age were the children of native parents. This same generation was enumerated for the second time in 1900 when it was between 15 and 20 years of age, and according to the census at that time the percentage having native parents was 75.84. It was enumerated again in 1910, at the age of 25 to 30 when the percentage was 77.15, and again in 1920 when it was from 35 to 40 years of age and 77.65 per cent. were reported as having native parents.

There is an average of those four percentages, 76.70. The percentages change a little at every census, but that might be expected. One stock may die off faster than the other, so that there is a change in the proportions.

The result of this computation is that we have figures showing what percentage of the children born in each five-year period had native parents.

Again using for illustration the population

that was between 35 and 40 years of age in 1920, and therefore was born between 1880 and 1885, the table shows that 76 per cent. (leaving out the hundredths of per cent.) of the children born in that period were the children of native parents. Then we can ask ourselves this question, What proportion of the parents of these children were themselves the children of native parents? Now, the parents of these children born between 1880 and 1885, we will assume for the purpose of simplifying the illustration, were between 20 and 35 years of age in 1880, and therefore, between 25 and 40 years of age in 1885. Now, a parent who was between 20 and 35 years of age in 1880 was born when? Between 1845 and 1860. We find that of the population born between 1845 and 1850, 87 per cent. had native parents, and of the population born between 1850 and 1855, 82 per cent. had native parents, and of those born between 1855 and 1860, 76 per cent. who had native parents.

Suppose we take the middle one of these three percentages as an average, and say that 82 per cent. of the parents of the children born between 1880 and 1885 were themselves the children of native parents. See how far we have got. We started with population between 35 and 40 years of age in 1920, and we found that 76 per cent. of them had native parents, and that 82 per cent. of the parents of those children also had native parents.

Now a parent of a parent is, of course, a grandparent. So we can say that of the population that was between 35 and 40 years of age in 1920 and therefore born between 1880 and 1885, 76 per cent. had native parents and of those that had native parents 82 per cent. had also native grandparents. Eighty-two per cent. of 76 per cent. is 62 per cent. So of the population between 35 and 40 years of age in 1920, 62 per cent. had native grandparents.

Very simple, is it not? Mr. Orebaugh implies that only illiterate, low foreigners, alien groups and politicians fail to grasp or understand the proposition. He also charges that "the average business and professional man of American ancestry has but a vague conception of the meaning and importance of the National Origins Plan." To these "groups" Mr. Orebaugh in all fairness should have added the President of the United States, the Secretary of State, the Secretary of Commerce, the Secretary of Labor, the unanimous vote of the Senate and the majority of the House of Representatives.

THE INFLUX OF MEXICANS

As to the total number of immigrants, the difference between the present law and the National Origins Plan is 14,647. That difference, with a population of 120,000,000, certainly cannot produce the terrible danger so fearfully described by Mr. Orebaugh.

The sincerity of the extreme restrictionists and of the sponsors of the National Origins Plan must be necessarily questioned when they seek to base their proposition on an economic necessity and a desire to keep up the American standard of living. While the doors were shut, and the wisdom is not necessarily questioned here, to the countries producing the people who built up this country, the doors were left open and are now wide open to the cheapest kind of peon labor. The advocates of the National Origins Plan were conspicuously silent when the Committee on Immigration was holding hearings to prevent the importation of cheap contract labor from Mexico. The testimony before the House Committee on Immigration is voluminous. It was there disclosed that Mexicans are imported and working on sugar beet fields at wages that American labor refuses to accept. Railroad executives appeared before the committee in opposition to the restriction of Mexican labor on the ground that they wanted that very kind of cheap labor. A conservative estimate fixed the number of Mexicans illegally in this country at 1,500,000. They are coming in at the rate of 350,000 a year. That, in comparison with the total number of 164,647 sound, clean, healthy immigrants who must undergo no less than three physical examinations, two literacy tests and produce documentary proof of good character. Relatives who understand conditions here are able to advise the newcomer of American wages and the American standard of living. The European immigrant can no longer be exploited. The Mexican peon is preferred because he is willing to work for starvation wages and live under the most degrading and unsanitary conditions. So is it really a desire to continue the so-called Nordic stock, or is it, after all, the wish to get the cheapest kind of labor at the lowest possible wage and bring down the American standard?

In closing, no better description of the National Origins Plan can be given than that offered by Mr. Orebaugh himself: "It has become a sort of 'homeless Hector' repudiated by the leaders of both the great parties." Surely everybody cannot be wrong.

Pictures in Rotogravure

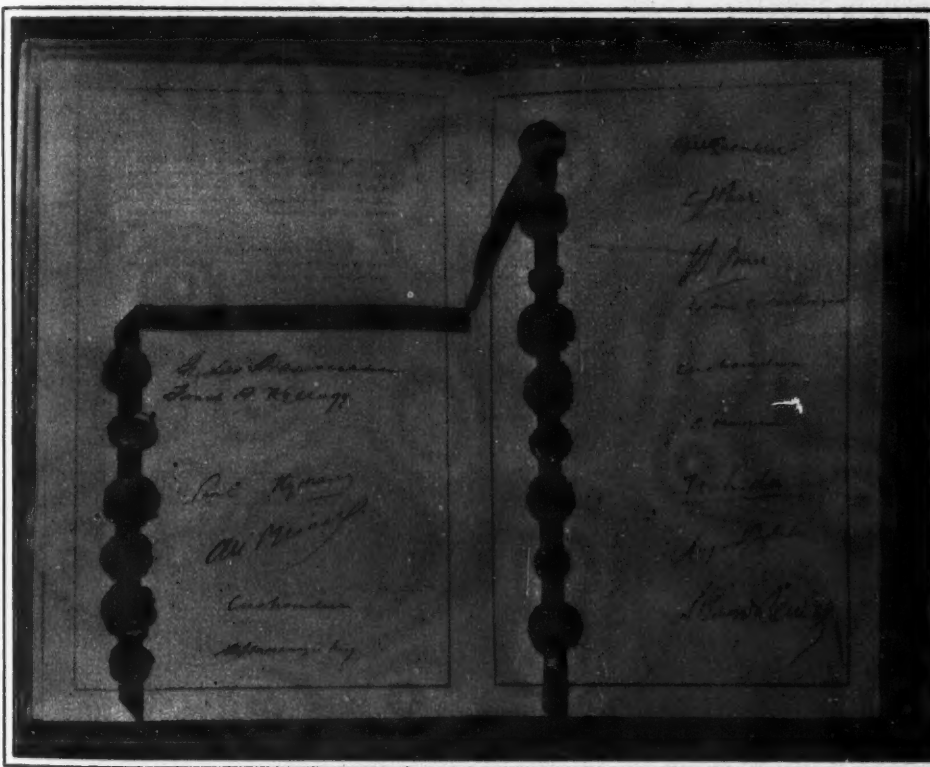
SIGNING THE KELLOGG-BRIAND TREATY



THE FRENCH FOREIGN MINISTER'S SPEECH

M. Briand delivering his address to the representatives of the fourteen other signatory nations on Aug. 27, 1928

Times Wide World



SIGNATURES ON HISTORIC DOCUMENT

The last page of the treaty showing the names of the plenipotentiaries of the fifteen nations

Times Wide World

SECRETARY KELLOGG'S VISIT TO IRELAND



LEAVING PARIS FOR DUBLIN

Left to right: President Cosgrave of the Irish Free State, Mrs. Parmely Herrick, Mr. Kellogg, Mrs. Kellogg and Myron T. Herrick, United States Ambassador to France

Acme



AN IRISH WELCOME

Mr. Kellogg, accompanied by President Cosgrave, arriving at the Mansion House in Dublin to receive the freedom of the city

Times Wide World

PRESIDENT COOLIDGE AFTER HIS VACATION



**THE PRESIDENT AS
MARKSMAN**

Photographed at Brule, Wis., during his vacation when, in a demonstration of his ability in trapshooting, he hit 29 out of 37 clay pigeons

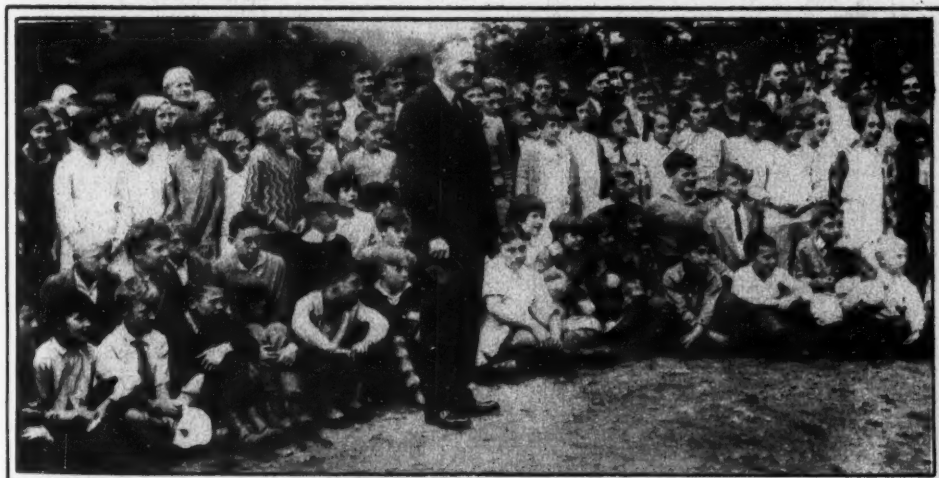
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STATESMEN DISCUSS POLITICAL SITUATION

The President's first conference after his return to Washington was with Mr. Hoover and Secretary Mellon for the purpose of discussing political affairs

Times Wide World



AT HIS OLD SCHOOL

The President with a group of the boys and girls at the Black River Academy, Ludlow, Vt., where he went to school as a boy and which he recently revisited

Times Wide World

PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN SCENES



MR. HOOVER AT NEWARK, N. J.

The Republican candidate leaving the Elks Club after a banquet tendered to him on the conclusion of a speaking tour in Northern New Jersey

Times Wide World



GOVERNOR SMITH IN CHICAGO

Admirers of the Democratic candidate shaking hands when his train stopped in Chicago on his way to Omaha, where he delivered his first campaign speech

Times Wide World

THE MEXICAN PRESIDENCY



EMILIO PORTES GIL

The Mexican Minister of the Interior who was elected Provisional President of the Republic at a joint session of the Mexican Congress on Sept. 25. He is to take up his new office on Dec. 1 for a term expiring on Feb. 5, 1930

Associated Press



PRESIDENT CALLES'S FAREWELL SPEECH

The retiring Chief Executive of Mexico reading his address to the Congress

Times Wide World

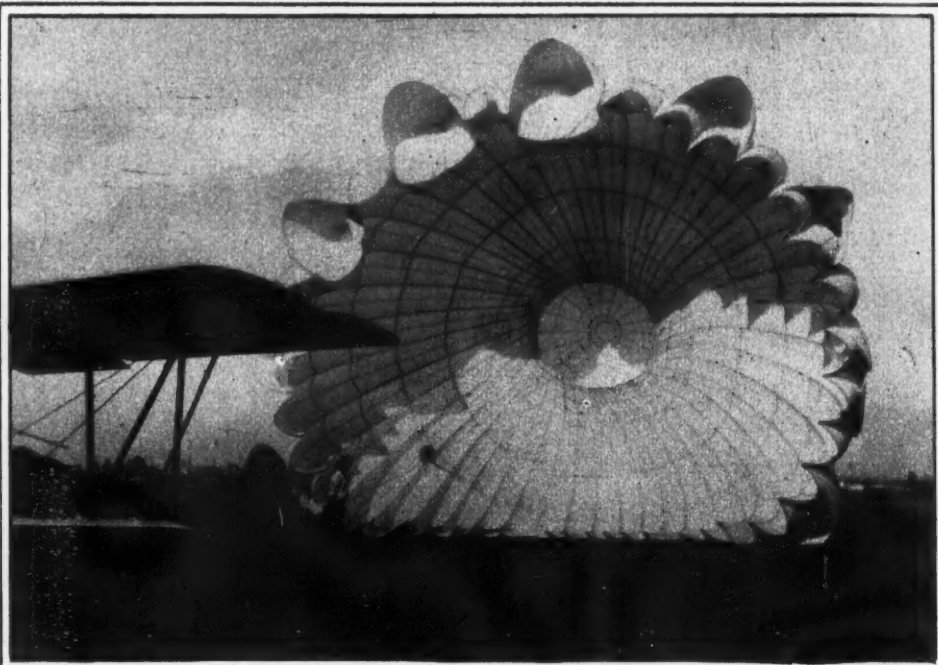
AERONAUTICAL DEVELOPMENTS



"WINDMILL" AEROPLANE

The autogyro machine in which the Spanish inventor, Señor de la Cievra, and M. Bouche made a successful flight from Croydon, near London, to Paris

Acme

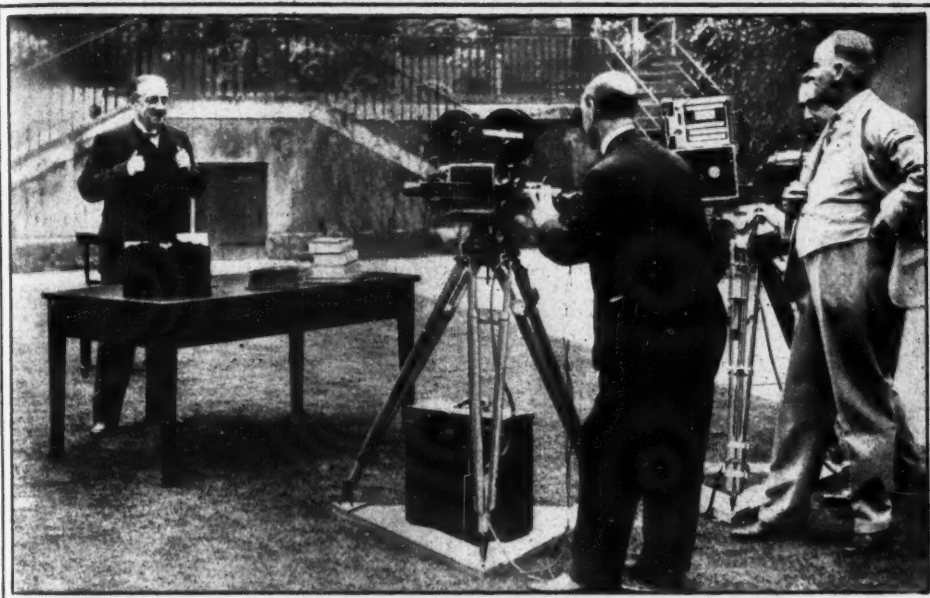


WORLD'S LARGEST PARACHUTE

Designed by Herd McClellan and recently tested at Los Angeles, it is 85 feet in diameter, contains 4,455 square feet and, according to its designer, is able to support an airplane in the air

Times Wide World

BRITISH STATESMEN IN IDLE MOMENTS



PRIME MINISTER BALDWIN

Posing for camera men while speaking for the talking movies in the garden of No. 10 Downing Street, London

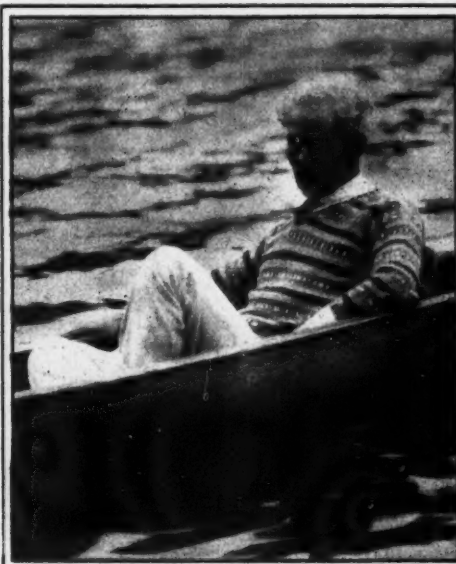
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SIR AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN

The British Foreign Secretary, who has been recovering from a severe illness, and Lady Chamberlain, photographed at Bermuda while on the way to visit California

Times Wide World



RAMSAY MacDONALD

Former British Prime Minister, resting in a canoe on the Lake of the Woods, on the borders of Ontario and Manitoba during a vacation in Canada

Canadian Pacific Railway

RULERS AND ENVOYS OF GREAT REPUBLICS



**ALANSON B.
HOUGHTON**

United States Ambassador
to Great Britain, who has
been nominated by the Re-
publicans of New York
State as their candidate
for United States Senator

Times Wide World



**PAUL VON
HINDENBURG**

The German President,
who was 81 years old
on Oct. 2, photo-
graphed with his two
granddaughters

Times Wide World



MANUEL MALBRAN

The new Argentine
Ambassador to the
United States

Times Wide World



MIKHAIL I. KALININ

The Soviet President, with his mother, on a holiday in his native village

Times Wide World

RETURN OF THE MACMILLAN EXPEDITION



THE BOWDOIN HOME AGAIN

The stanch little
vessel arriving at
Wiscasset
Times Wide World



COMMANDER DONALD B. MACMILLAN

Leader of the ex-
pedition to Labra-
dor bringing his
ship Bowdoin back
to its home port,
Wiscasset, Me., af-
ter a year's work
of exploration and
research

Times Wide World



WIDESPREAD HURRICANE DAMAGE



DEVASTATION AT WEST PALM BEACH

A typical scene showing the wreckage left after the tornado which swept Florida causing the loss of many lives and many million dollars' worth of damage

Times Wide World



SAN JUAN, PORTO RICO

Street scene after the hurricane which swept across the West Indies to Florida

Fox News



THE TORNADO AT ROCKFORD

Some of the damage done in the Illinois town, where fourteen lives were lost

Times Wide World

THE REBELLION IN NICARAGUA



SANDINO ANNIVERSARY

Insurgent soldiers displaying their flag on the first anniversary of the beginning of the rebellion led by General Augusto C. Sandino

Times Wide World



IN PURSUIT OF REBELS

United States marines, mounted on mules, setting out from the advanced headquarters at Matagalpa

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AIRPLANE AS AMBULANCE

American marines in Nicaragua wounded in fighting the Sandinistas being taken to hospital by airplane

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THE JAPANESE SCENE



BRIDE OF JAPAN'S HEIR-APPARENT

Miss Setsu Matsudaira, daughter of the former Japanese Ambassador to the United States, visiting a shrine in her native province before her marriage to Prince Chichibu, the Heir-Apparent to the Throne of Japan

Tokio Asahi Photo



COUNT YASUYA UCHIDA

The Japanese envoy who signed the Kellogg-Briand Treaty and who visited America on his way back to Japan, photographed on his arrival in New York

Acme



PRINCESS CHICHIBU

Dressed in the old Japanese costume worn by girls just before their marriage

Times Wide World

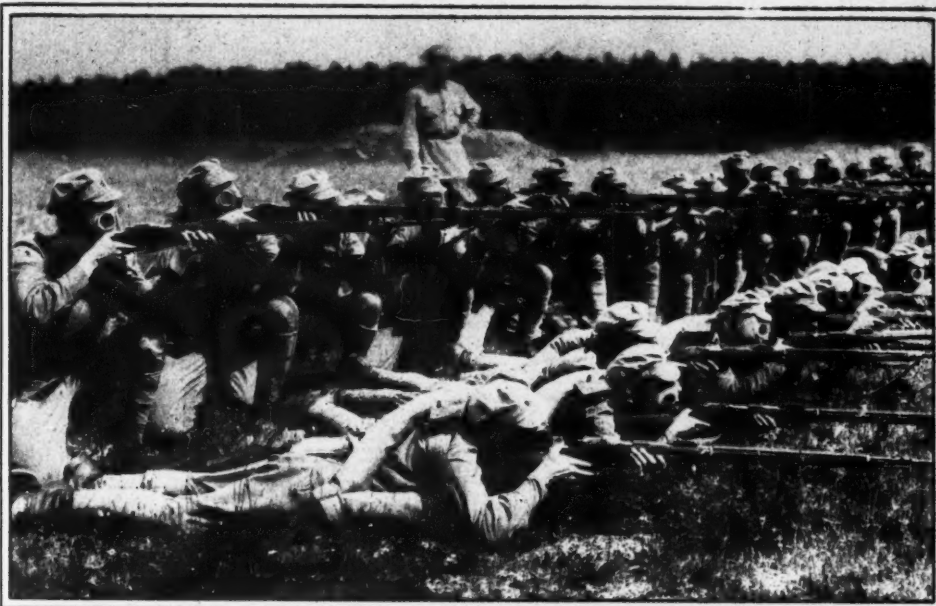


A JAPANESE GIRL SOCIALIST

Miss Yoshiko Sunazuka delivering a speech denouncing city graft in Tokio

Times Wide World

EUROPE AN ARMED CAMP



SOLDIERS OF THE SOVIET

Russian troops in training in field manoeuvres near Moscow, learning to shoot in the open with masks in place

Times Wide World

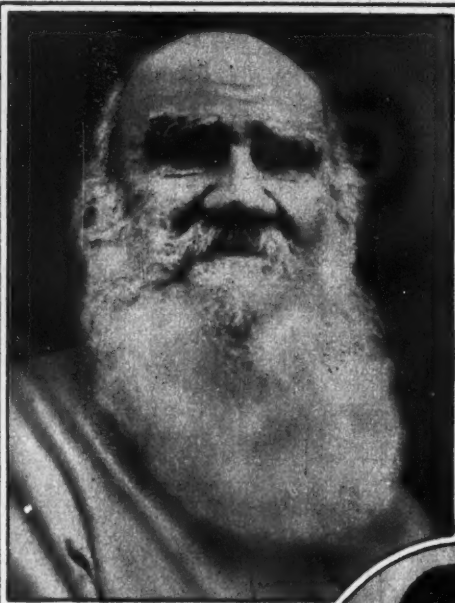


IN OCCUPIED GERMANY

British troops that recently combined with the French in the first joint war manoeuvres of the two armies in the occupied territory on the Rhine and the Moselle

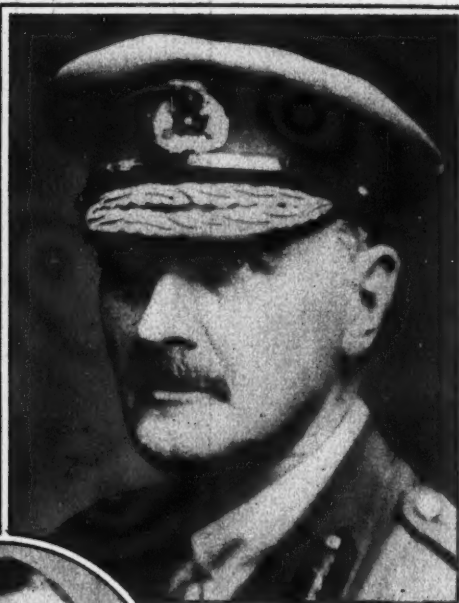
International

PERSONALITIES IN THE NEWS



LYOF TOLSTOY

The great Russian author, the hundredth anniversary of whose birth was celebrated on Sept. 9, 1928. He died on Nov. 20, 1910



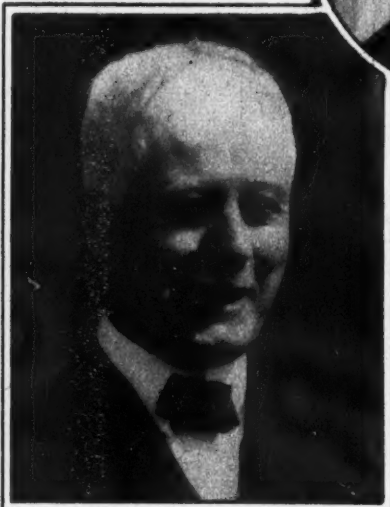
LORD ALLENBY OF MEGIDDO

The British General who captured Jerusalem during the World War and who arrived in America on Oct. 2 Underwood



MAURICE BOKANOWSKI

French Cabinet Minister and leading financial expert who was killed in an airplane accident on Sept. 2



WILLIAM F. WHITING

United States Secretary of Commerce in succession to Mr. Hoover.

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COLONEL HARRY BURGESS

The new Governor of the Panama Canal Zone

Associated Press

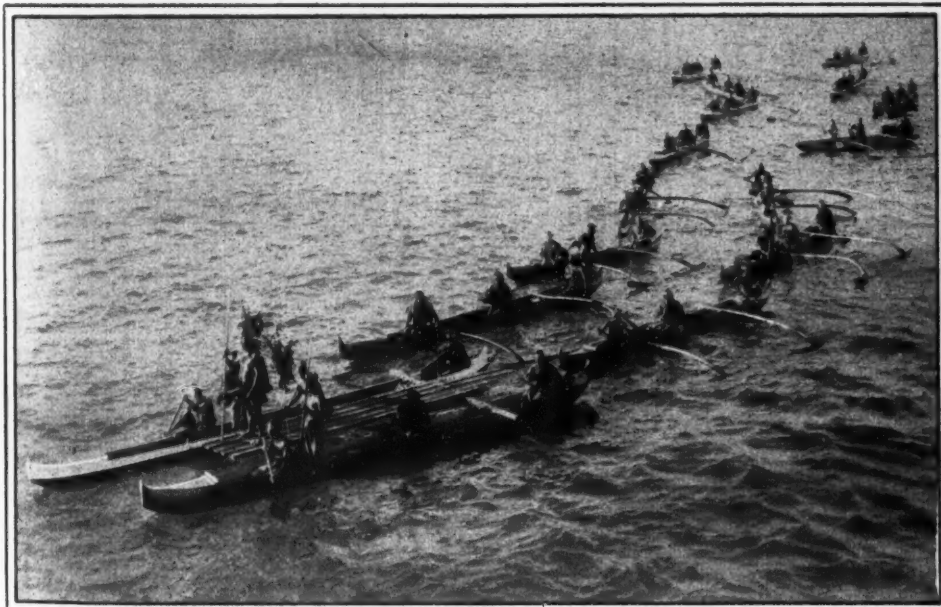
THE DISCOVERY OF THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS



IN MEMORY OF CAPTAIN JAMES COOK

The celebration of the discovery of the Hawaiian (formerly Sandwich) Islands a century and a half ago by the English navigator, whose name is also associated with many explorations in the Pacific. The photograph shows a war canoe arriving at the monument erected at the place where he was killed by natives on Feb. 14, 1779

Times Wide World



HAWAIIAN WAR CANOES

Fighting craft of the early days in the Pacific on the way to the Cook monument

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ALBANIA BECOMES A KINGDOM



A SELF-PROCLAIMED MONARCH

Ahmed Zogu proclaiming himself King of the Albanians at a meeting of the Parliament at Tirana

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AHMED ZOGU

The Albanian ruler who was elected President on Jan. 31, 1925, and who has now become King of the Albanians with the title of Skanderbeg, III



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THE NEW ROYAL FAMILY

The mother, sisters, brother and nephews of the new King

Times Wide World

Turkey in Step With Twentieth Century Civilization

By OWEN TWEEDY

CAPTAIN, BRITISH ARMY; OBSERVER OF NEAR EASTERN AFFAIRS SINCE 1917

POLITICALLY, socially and economically the Turkey which Mustapha Kemal has created in the last nine years is an entirely new entity, so new, in fact, that today it appears to have hardly any links with vanished Ottoman Imperialism. From a study of this post-war creation there emerge three arresting facts. In the first place, Turkey is today a victorious nation which has wiped off the slate all Turkish history before 1919, and has freed itself from the troublesome Imperial territorial apanages of the past which stretched from the Euphrates southward into Arabia and as far as the gates of Aden. Its decision, as defined in the first article of the National Pact of 1919, to rid itself of "the portions of the Turkish Empire which are populated exclusively by an Arab majority, and which on the conclusion of the Armistice of the 30th of October, 1918, were in the occupation of enemy forces," was as sensible as it was bold.

This reflection introduces the second feature of Turkey's latest evolution. Mustapha Kemal's new republic is today not only territorially compact but it has also no *terra irredenta*. Greece has retained her territorial aspirations—the Dodecanese, Cyprus, even the Smyrna Villayet; Bulgaria and Yugoslavia still agitate for Aegean outlets—Dedeagatch and Saloniki. These aspirations upset good neighborly relations. Turkey has none, talks of none and writes of none. It has forgotten Jerusalem and Mecca, Damascus and Medina. It speaks patronizingly of the Gallipoli campaign. For it the only two historical dates which matter are the expulsion of the Greeks from Smyrna in 1922 and the reoccupation of Constantinople in 1923.

The third factor is psychological. Those who have molded the new National State have set themselves the task of freeing Turkey from that insidious form of inferiority complex which had undermined the vitality of Ottoman Imperialism. Accord-

ing to Mustapha Kemal's diagnosis, the malady of the "sick man of Europe" had been an acute state of nerves bred of an inferiority complex which was aggravated, rather than relieved by the ministrations of Europe and in particular by the protected non-Moslem minorities in Constantinople and Smyrna. Having made his examination, the doctor—a Turk this time and not a European—removed the patient from Constantinople to the remoteness of Angora, where he could be treated without outside interference. A decision was reached that the canker could not be removed by physic but called for the surgeon's knife, and the operation was made. The capitulations were abolished and the infection of the non-Moslem minorities removed from the ailing body.

These non-Moslem minorities—the Greeks, the Armenians and the Jews—have been vividly described by the late Miss Gertrude Bell in her recently published letters. "They speak no language, though they will chatter with you in half a dozen; they have no native land, though they are related by marriage to all Europe; and with the citizens of each country they will talk to their compatriots as 'we.' They centre round no capital and are loyal to no government though they obey many."

Mustapha Kemal thoroughly endorsed Miss Bell's appreciation. He looked on the continued existence of the Greek and Armenian minorities in Smyrna and Constantinople as fatal to the Turkish Nationalism on which he intended to build the new State. Backed as these communities were by vague but none the less powerful European religious sympathy, and, in the case of the Greeks, by the full force of political intrigue in Athens, they had proved themselves to be a constant menace to the old régime, a menace which the Turks had formerly been impotent to strive against save by such clumsy and unpalatable methods as ruthless massacre. The minorities had had

their uses economically as commercial middlemen; but politically they could not be assimilated into New Turkey. So go they must, and go they did.

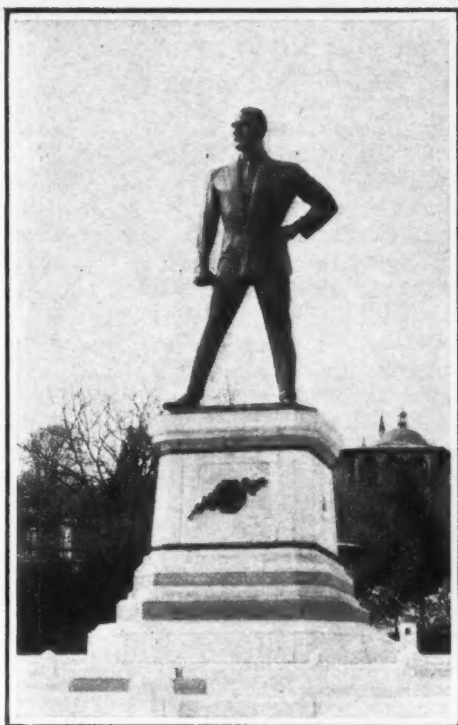
These metamorphoses generally affected the position of foreigners in Turkey. They were effected both by legislation and propaganda, and the process was completed by 1924, a year after New Turkey had secured itself internationally through the medium of the Treaty of Lausanne. Meanwhile the new rulers had been applying their new principles within the Turkish house. New Turkey could not establish itself on the foundations of the Caliph-Sultanate. It was a new national force, determined to build on nationalistic bases, which must not be exposed to the risk of being undermined by the outside forces of dynastic privilege and religious hegemony. Old Turkey had been ruled by a combination of both forces. The Abdul Hamidian tradition stood for personal service to the Sultan, who worked for his own ends. It cared nothing for service to Turkey as a nation. All preferment was in the gift of the Sultan. Personal liberty depended on his good-will, which had to be courted or bought, and his dual rôle as head of the Turkish State and Caliph of Islam vested him and his office with an autocratic power which could not be adapted to the version of democracy toward which the new rulers were working. Accordingly the Sultanate was abolished, and a year later the abolition of the Caliphate followed. The two incidents were essentially revolutionary, but the Ghazi had no doubt that they were necessary. "The Turk," he is reported to have said, "is by nature conservative. The perpetuation of any shade of temporal and religious power of the House of Othman would have perpetuated in Turkish minds the idea of the subjugation of the individual to an authority of which he had once been afraid and which he would continue to fear, however much it was denuded of its power. The Caliph-Sultanate was an 'imperium.' Now there is a new and national 'imperium.' It cannot thrive in an atmosphere of 'imperium in imperio.' The old régime must go." And with it went the old Abdul Hamidian aristocracy of Constantinople which incidentally had allied itself after the Armistice to the Entente Powers, and the "Young

Turk" aristocracy of the days of Enver Pasha's supremacy.

SURVIVAL OF THE REVOLUTIONISTS

It was, in a sense, the French Revolution over again. Mustapha Kemal has been in turn a Mirabeau, a Doumouriez, a Robespierre and a Napoleon of the First Consulate. And during his evolution his tactics have correspondingly been affected. He initiated the constructive effort of the National Pact. Smyrna was the French Jemappes. A Reign of Terror demolished the aristocratic structure of Old Turkey. Finally there was a "whiff of grapeshot" at Mudania in 1922 which, in 1923, opened the Gates of Constantinople to him. But the Turkish revolution differs from the French in one remarkable respect. Mustapha Kemal personally has survived its many vicissitudes. It is a great tribute to him; but it is perhaps a greater merit that in the prosecution of his policy he has throughout held together his immediate associates. Today he governs the country as head of a Triumvirate which has also survived the storm and stress of revolution intact. His two colleagues, Ismet Pasha, the Prime Minister, and President of the Popular (the only) party in the country, and Fewzi Pasha, head of the army and the police, share with the Ghazi the great asset that at the time they started the Nationalist movement they were all men of established Turkish reputation. All had done well in war: all had had experience of diplomacy: all had clean hands. They have all kept true to their records: and their training and tradition have steered them clear of intrigue and corruption, and have also insured them from that type of political attack to which revolutionary leaders of a "parvenu" class are naturally subject. Their policy—admittedly ruthless—has been consistent, and though, in the course of its development, they have periodically associated to themselves the normal agents of revolution—the hanging judges, the demagogues, the fly-by-night politicians, they have staunchly preserved their own individuality, and, as time passed for extreme measures, they have dropped their association with extreme agencies. Today they govern almost normally, albeit their rule is a dictatorship.

Meanwhile Turkey has been educated to



Publishers Photo Service

MUSTAPHA KEMAL PASHA
A statue of the Turkish President at Seraglio
Point, Stamboul

them; and they are firmly anchored in the affections and respect of the people. But that was not their sole aim. Having enfranchised the people from their past, they embarked on the social side of their national policy, which is "Turkey for the Turks; and efficient Turks for Turkey." The old Turk was inefficient. He was inefficient partly because he was lazy, and left it to the non-Moslem minorities in his midst to attend to the essential duties of civil and economic life; partly because old Turkish education, with its hoard of religious superstitions and fetishes, in no way fitted him for modern life in competition with others of less archaic outlook and training. The social education of the Turkish masses has, however, been paradoxical. On the one hand, they have been taught pride in themselves and in their country: on the other, they have been embarked on a violent course of Westernization.

Reference has already been made to the

inferiority complex which was innate in Turkey and its inhabitants. The Ghazi's prowess and policy have largely eliminated this national weakness. The results of his efforts could, however, produce only a subconscious reaction in the Turkish mentality. To emphasize the newness and the promise of the future which Mustapha Kemal dreamed for his fellow-countrymen, it was necessary to introduce ocular demonstrations of a break with an inglorious past. This is the motive which underlies all the striking changes which have, during the period of Mustapha Kemal's constructive policy, been introduced into the daily life of Turkey. The first innovations were the abolition of the fez for men and the optional discontinuation of the veil for women. The story of this sartorial revolution illustrates the paradox of New Turkey. The Nationalist Government reoccupied Constantinople with great ceremony in 1923. A feature of the endless processions was the wholesale mutilation of European forms of headwear, an action intended to symbolize the triumph of the be-fezzed Turk over the be-hatted Westerner. Two years later, to synchronize with the celebration of the anniversary of the signature of the National Pact, the Ghazi published the edict banning the fez. There was little time for the purchase of alternative headgear; and the amazing sight was seen of the same endless processions, but this time wearing all and anything from the evening topper to the picture hat, resurrected, in default of better, from some wardrobe forgotten since the days of the Gibson Girl. The edict was designed to demonstrate Turkish development and progress. The wearing of the veil is only optional; but over 90 per cent. of the women in the Western towns, Constantinople, Smyrna, Adrianople and Angora, now wear European hats. In the Eastern Vilayets, however, in Trebizond, Siwas and Diarbekr, modernity has still to triumph over the deep-seated religious prejudice against exposure of the female face, which is held alike by men and women.

The disappearance of the fez and veil was the forerunner of other more sweeping changes: but in order to give the public time to acclimatize itself to the prospect of further novelty, a period of two years was allowed to elapse before they were put into

force. It has been, in fact, only during the last twelve months that Mustapha Kemal has resumed the active prosecution of his policy. Over fifty years ago Ismail Pasha, the Khedive of Egypt, enunciated what was then a new policy for an Oriental people. "Egypt," he said, "is no longer African: it is part of Europe." He was aiming, although along lines so unsound and ostentatious as ultimately to plunge him and his country into ruin, toward a break with the dilatory and anachronistic methods of the East. Mustapha Kemal has similar intentions for Turkey. But whereas the misguided Ismail thought to attain his ends by flooding Egypt with Europeans, mostly of the adventurer type, Mustapha Kemal is devoting his energy toward the rehabilitation of Turkish genius in Turkey and by Turkish effort on lines which will enable his countrymen to hold their own with the West both at home and abroad.

ABUSES OF THE CHURCH

Emphasis has already been laid on the great semi-political, semi-social influence which Islam enjoyed under the old Caliphate régime. This influence began in Turkish childhood and persisted up to death. The village *Hodja*, or priest, derived authority from the spiritual position of the Sultan Caliph. He was a power apart from, independent of and often antagonistic to civil government. The administrative head of the Moslem religion in Turkey, the Sheikh ul Islam, was, *ipso facto*, a member of the Turkish Cabinet, and his administrative duties were largely concerned in the manipulation (the word is used purposely) of vast religious funds, legacies left to Islam by pious Moslems for the benefit of their co-religionists and known as *Wakfs* (pious foundations). These funds were originally intended for Moslem charity and education. Under the old régime they were consistently misused for political purposes. They were out of the control of civil government, and the Moslem peasant knew that his hopes of participation in their benefits lay in securing the good-will of his village *Hodja* by rigid obedience. It was "imperium in imperio," but, worse still, it was an "imperium" which knew that its continued existence depended on its ability to keep the Turkish people uneducated, superstitious

and servile. So Mustapha Kemal struck at Islam. The post of Sheikh ul Islam disappeared with the abolition of the Caliphate; and the *Wakfs* passed into Government control. With the *Wakfs*, the educational administration of Turkey also became a State responsibility, and Mustapha Kemal became master of the upbringing of Turkish youth.

Although the Caliph and the Sheikh ul Islam had disappeared, the Ghazi did not, at the time of the promulgation of the new Turkish Constitution, think it opportune to tamper with the position of Islam in the State. In the Constitution it was duly styled as the State religion of New Turkey. His hesitation over more drastic action persisted until early this year. Then by a stroke of the pen and on grounds which were entirely political and divorced from religious considerations, he disestablished Islam in Turkey. Today it is a recognized creed—as are the Christian and the Jewish faiths—but it is little more. The Ghazi has shorn the "imperium in imperio" of all shreds of its former greatness and power; and, in the process, he has assumed authority to interfere governmentally in ritual. A recent series of edicts have prescribed the introduction of pews into mosques and the use of music, and henceforward the devout Moslem need no longer remove his shoes when entering a mosque to pray. These were innovations the staggering import of which can be appreciated fully only by those familiar with the rigidity of Moslem ritual elsewhere in Islam. But they have been accepted in Turkey with the same docility as have been the other phases of Mustapha Kemal's policy toward the Westernization of his country.

THE NEW ALPHABET

Meanwhile, the same policy has been urgently prosecuted in education and in the administration. The Turkish language is of the Arabic-Persian variety. It is written from right to left in Oriental characters. The numerals are also of Oriental design. It is a great language, rich in powers of expression; but it has the drawback that, owing to its style of script, it is out of reach of general Occidental comprehension, and on the other hand, it does not facilitate Turkish assimilation of Western tongues.

It was thus a stumbling block in the path of the new policy of Westernization. So Arabic-Persian script and numerals are to go. The necessary legislation was passed by the Turkish Parliament in May and a timetable, spread out over five years, was laid down enumerating successive stages for the progressive adoption of European characters and numerals. After two years, 25 per cent. of all Government correspondence and educational exercises must be in Latin characters; the progress rises to 50 per cent. after three years, and to 75 per cent. after four. The substitution of Western numerals for the Arabic signs is to take place forthwith. Mustapha Kemal is making himself personally responsible for the effective execution of his orders. He now writes only in Latin characters; he reads his Turkish newspapers in Western type; and, most remarkable of all, he himself attends a Government a-b-c class at the Dolmabatche Palace of Abdul Hamid, where, in company with his Ministers and heads of departments, he daily pores for hours over the first primer of reading and writing. Similar classes have been prescribed for all the staffs of Government offices, of banks and of the greater Turkish business houses.

Already today there are proofs of the energy with which Mustapha Kemal and his colleagues are putting into force their rallying cry: "Efficient Turks for Turkey." Unveiled Khanums [women] preside in the telephone exchanges; public clocks go; the police and the army are smart, well-clothed and punctually paid; road-making is in active development both throughout Anatolia and in Constantinople; the trains and the Bosphorus ferries run with remarkable punctuality and are clean; and—greatest of

all—Angora, which in 1919 was a dingy, dirty Oriental hamlet, clustering on a medieval hill in the middle of a malarial plain, is being successfully transformed and expanded by Turkish effort into a worthy capital of the new State—healthy, following a modern scheme of broad town-planning, and the centre of a network of railways which are rapidly branching out north, south and east.

NEED OF COMMERCIALISM

No account of New Turkey would be complete without a reference to its economic condition. Commercially Turkey has had to pay a big price for the political relief which accrued to it by the expulsion of the non-Moslem minorities. In the old days a Greek, an Armenian or a Jew was the middleman of Turkish trade. He bought from the Turkish producer and sold to the European markets. He has disappeared, and Turkish commercial ability falls far short of modern trading requirements. As a result, the marketing of Turkish produce is at a disadvantage and the country suffers. Mustapha Kemal's energy and enthusiasm may yet awaken a latent genius in his countrymen for commercialism on lines which will enable them successfully to replace the departed non-Moslem middleman; but hitherto there are no signs of such an awakening.

Politically and socially, the new Turk is answering satisfactorily to the Ghazi's efforts, but the country will not thrive or progress as it should until it acquires economic efficiency. Turkey is now for the Turks; but, in the sphere of commerce and finance, efficient Turks for Turkey are still lacking.



Tammany Upheld and Condemned

I—Tammany As A Patriotic Society

By JUDGE GEORGE W. OLVANY

LEADER OF TAMMANY HALL

APPEALS from all sections of the United States to present the "story of Tammany in a few thousand words" have become so insistent that the officers of the organization have issued a booklet entitled "The Society of Tammany or Columbian Order; 1786 to 1928." That booklet, dealing briefly in facts and not in fanciful representation or abuse, has been sent, upon request, to residents of practically all of the States of the Union.

The quadrennial assault upon Tammany, as the oldest and most aggressive organization of the Democratic Party, has been under full headway in 1928 as it has been in every Presidential year for more than a century and a quarter. Where Tammany is intimately known these assaults no longer attract attention. Partisan and narrow motives behind the attacks are well understood. Of late years abuse of Tammany has reacted against the reckless individuals and factions that have fulminated it, and today Tammany is stronger, more respected and trusted in the community in which it has its activities than ever in its history.

Tammany is as old as the National Government. The first Society of Tammany was established in Philadelphia, in 1772, as "The Sons of Saint Tammany." Its purpose was the promotion of patriotism and charity. The name of the society was taken from that of the most noted Chief or Sachem of the Delaware Indians. One of the most popular legends of that time was that Chief Tammany, leader of the Lenni Lenape branch of the Delawares, was the most humane, friendly and considerate of the aborigines with whom the American colonists had intercourse. Tradition describes Tammany as the embodiment of wisdom and honor, and as the leader in granting to William Penn the land upon which the Pennsylvania colony was founded.

The Philadelphia Society of Saint Tammany quickly attained prominence for its patriotic activity, and the Tammany movement spread to New York, New Jersey, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia. The Saint Tammany Society celebration in Richmond, Va., in 1785, was made notable by the presence of General Washington, who recorded the occasion in his diary. The Society of Tammany secured a firm foothold in New Jersey in 1779. In its membership were included many officers of the American Army and men of affairs conspicuous in the Revolutionary struggle. One of these was John Pintard, who later removed to New York City.

The Society of Tammany in the City of New York dates its existence from 1786. On Jan. 25 of that year, following a dinner of the Marine Society held in the Coffee House, the Society was founded on Manhattan Island. One of its original members was John Pintard, at that time a member in good standing in the Society of the Sons of Saint Tammany of New Jersey. The New York Society first attracted general public notice in the great constitutional parade of July 23, 1788, and within a few months it became one of the most aggressive patriotic organizations in the young republic. The activity was led by William Mooney, first Grand Sachem of the Society, and John Pintard, who acted as Secretary. In the reorganization of 1789 the Society dedicated itself to two patrons, Tammany and Christopher Columbus, and the original constitution was amended to change the name of the Society to the Society of Tammany or Columbian Order.

The original constitution of Tammany, as adopted Aug. 10, 1789, contains the following principal provisions:

This institution shall be called and known

by the name of The Society of Tammany or Columbian Order.

It shall connect in the indissoluble bonds of patriotic friendship American brethren of known attachment to the political rights of human nature and the liberty of their country.

Every member upon initiation shall come under an honorary obligation to maintain the reputation, constitution and harmony and to preserve inviolable the arcana of this Society.

This Society shall be governed by thirteen Sachems, annually chosen by ballot, who shall form a council and be invested with certain exclusive judicial powers.

The President of this Society shall be known and addressed by the name of Grand Sachem and be invested with certain exclusive executive powers.

There shall be a Treasurer, annually elected, who shall preside over its funds as by law directed.

There shall be a Secretary annually chosen who shall keep a journal of its proceedings and laws as by law directed.

This Society shall be divided into thirteen distinct tribes, with one of the Sachems presiding over each, who may have separate meetings as by law directed.

The number of States comprising the American nation shall be the number constituting a quorum in all meetings of the Society.

When alterations or amendments to this constitution have been constitutionally recommended and discussed by the Society at three meetings they shall be finally submitted to the judgment of the tribe, consent of nine tribes being necessary for adoption of the same, or to render void any part of this constitution.

While the form of the Constitution of the proposed Society of Tammany was being discussed, the founders, on March 9, 1789, issued an appeal to the Sons of Liberty, who had been active in the pre-Revolutionary days, and who in the war for independence had been the principal supporters of the Continental Congress in the New York area. This address was as follows:

The vicissitudes which occur in political as well as civil life are indelibly recorded in the annals of human affairs and confirmed by the all-seeing eye of the Great Spirit, by Whose providence we exist and have become a great and free people.

Be it therefore remembered that in consequence of encroachment on our inherent rights by adventurers from foreign lands, it has become apparent that our independence, so recently and so dearly obtained by our fathers and our brothers in the glorious but cruel sanguinary War of the Revolution, is in danger of being temporarily disturbed. In order, therefore, to counteract the machinations of those slaves and agents of foreign despots a great National Institution, founded on the basis of American liberty as the rallying point of freemen, is indispensably necessary to be established for the preservation and perpetuity of those blessings which, through Divine Providence,

we now enjoy and have pledged ourselves to transmit unimpaired down to our latest posterity. The preceding brief outlines, exclusive of a series of minor cases, being seriously and deeply reflected on, a few genuine Sons of Liberty, whose patriotic virtue, fortitude and perseverance eventually after years of opposition surmounted all difficulties, resolved to establish the contemplated Institution and to call it Tammany Society or Columbian Order.

This address was signed "William Mooney, Chairman of the meeting."

NATIONAL ORGANIZATION PROPOSED

Coupled with the address to the Sons of Liberty, the "preceding brief outline," mentioned in an introductory address, was sent to all of those who had been conspicuous during the war times in the Sons of Liberty. The introductory address, which preceded the preamble to the renovated Constitution of the Tammany Society or Columbian Order, was communicated to a few Whigs of that day in New York. It expressed the necessity of establishing "a great National Institution" and went on:

In order to elucidate the causes more particularly which animated the Sons of Liberty to erect a Watch Tower over a vanquished though insidious, proud and vindictive enemy, shortly after the evacuation of this City in 1783, it became glaringly visible that the very ingrates which our lenient laws permitted to return among us began to assume the rights and privileges of American freemen.

Let us remember the Jersey prison ship and the churches and sugar houses (British prisons) in the City of New York. Every day produced some new aggravation to the genuine Whigs. At length a few, a very few, assembled together and determined to counteract the growing evils of the day by promoting a National Society. After three years of incessant toil and insurmountable difficulties they completed the foundation of the first Temple of Liberty in our country.

We adopted the immortal, the virtuous aborigine, Tammany, as our patron, and honored the Institution with his name and added to it "Independent Order of Liberty." This beautiful and pleasing adjunct, after much deliberation, was agreed to be dispensed with, in order to substitute in its place one, not more truly applicable generally, but more appropriate, considering the nature of the Institution, that of "Columbian Order," in honor of the immortal navigator and discoverer of our country, the magnanimous though persecuted Christopher Columbus."

After the first Presidential election held in the United States the Society of Tammany declared itself against the announced program of the Federal party, which sought to limit the right of citizenship and advocated the creation of an American aristoc-

racy, from whose members would be drawn the ruling classes of the republic.

Tammany's opposition to the proposal that titles and caste should be installed, and its insistence that the soldiers of the Revolution and all other law-abiding men above the age of 21 years should be entitled to manhood suffrage, attracted a large and substantial membership. Tammany, from its inception, celebrated the notable battles of the Revolution and the birthdays of the Revolutionary leaders by parades and patriotic mass meetings. In addition it celebrated with great ceremonials the anniversary of the discovery of America by Columbus, and of the reputed birthday of the Indian chief after which the society was named. It was the first organization to celebrate the birthday of George Washington and to make the anniversary of British evacuation of America a holiday.

ALIGNMENT WITH JEFFERSON

As the lines of demarcation between the two great political parties of the day began to be more discussed the interest of the Tammany Society in the field of politics became intensified. The Federalist Party, under the leadership of Alexander Hamilton and John Jay, pursuant to its policy of class distinction, was so repugnant to the members of the Tammany Society that they allied themselves with the party of Thomas Jefferson, and although five of the first six Presidents of the United States—Washington, Jefferson, Adams, Monroe and Jackson—were officers and members of the Society of Tammany, the alliance between the Jeffersonian democracy and the Society of Tammany was so generally understood that Tammany, by the year 1800, became recognized as the leading organization in the Jeffersonian Democratic movement.

The Tammany movement, at that time, had spread to other States, and in 1816 there were, in addition to the original societies, branches in Rhode Island, Massachusetts, Maryland, Kentucky, Ohio, District of Columbia and Missouri. The "wigwams" of the Tammany Society were the rallying places for the opponents of the Federal Party and of the Society of the Cincinnati, which had been fostered by the Federal leaders.



Wide World

GEORGE W. OLVANY

With the decline of the Federal Party and the popular sweep of the Jeffersonian Democracy through the nation, several of the Tammany societies ceased their individual activities and were merged with the party of Jefferson. In New York, however, the Society of Tammany continued strong and active. From 1789 it maintained a permanent headquarters known as the "Wigwam." On Sept. 10, 1790, the Common Council of the city assigned the Society a Wigwam in the Merchants Exchange. In 1792, the Society undertook the collection of funds for a permanent home, on plans now utilized by our modern building-loan associations. The announced purpose was "to erect a Great Wigwam or Tammany Hall for the convenience of the meetings of the Society." The cornerstone of the first Tammany Hall was laid at Nassau and Frankfort Streets, in May, 1811, as a meeting place "for the purpose of preserving and strengthening that patriotic chain which unites its members and for accommodating their Republican brothers."

From this beginning the home of the Society became also the home of the Democratic-Republican political organization of the city. The control of Tammany Hall and

the decision as to its tenant rested with the Sachems of the Society of Tammany. The Democratic political organization of the city always met there and selected the Democratic Party candidates. It was thus that the association between the Society of Tammany and the Democratic organization of the city became firmly welded.

From the year 1800 Tammany had insistently demanded that the principles of Jeffersonian Democracy, including free speech, freedom of worship, freedom of the press and manhood suffrage in national affairs, should be extended to the public policy of the State. By its constant campaign it won practically all of these rights to the citizens of New York. In 1811 it won another signal victory for Democratic principles in the State by the repeal of the law which placed the power of nominating candidates for Governor and Lieutenant Governor in the Legislature. Incidental to the repeal, a law was enacted providing that nominations for Governor and Lieutenant Governor should be made in convention and by delegates elected directly by the people from each county in the State. This was Tammany's first great victory for nominations by the voters themselves, and not by official mandate.

WAR OF 1812 FORESEEN

In the same year Tammany started a great wave of patriotism throughout the country by calling indignation meetings to denounce the action of the British Government in holding up American vessels at sea and at the mouth of American seaports and forcibly removing British subjects serving as members of crews under the American flag. There were several armed clashes during the year, and, with war portending, Tammany recruited large forces of its members who voluntarily erected fortifications around New York Harbor. By this example of patriotism New York and the rest of the country were fairly well prepared for the War of 1812.

Following the second war with Great Britain there was a recurrence of the agitation against manhood suffrage, and the so-called "American" and "Know Nothing" parties came into existence. Their policies were directed against foreign-born residents and sought the repeal of the naturalization

laws. Tammany fought both and vanquished them.

At the beginning of the War of the Rebellion Tammany placed its full strength at the disposal of the national Government. The New York Board of Aldermen, which at that time was controlled by Tammany Democrats, on April 19, 1861, appropriated \$1,000,000 to raise and equip troops and to place them at the disposal of President Lincoln. The action of the Tammany board was formally made known to the President by General Daniel E. Sickles, a member of Tammany. In acknowledging this great financial aid and gesture of support at the outset of the war for the preservation of the Union, President Lincoln said:

Sickles, I have here on my table the resolution passed by your aldermen promising to do all in their power to support the Government. I also have their resolution appropriating \$1,000,000 toward raising men for the war. When they were handed to me I felt my burden lighter. I felt that when such men break their party lines and take this patriotic stand for the Government, all must come out well in the end.

Almost simultaneously with the action of the Board of Aldermen, Tammany raised a regiment among its membership and sent it to the front under command of Colonel William D. Kennedy, at that time and for five years previously Grand Sachem of the Society of Tammany. This regiment, officially known as the Forty-second New York Infantry, participated in thirty-six battles. Its services are commemorated by a Tammany monument on the field at Gettysburg.

After the close of the Civil War the Democratic Party in the nation and in most of the States was at a low ebb. The national Congress, dominated by Republicans, began the enactment of repressive measures intended to punish the leaders and the residents of the Southern States and their sympathizers in the North. Against these coercive Congressional bills Tammany fought in the legislative halls in both Washington and New York and undertook campaigns at home. In spite of its activities, however, several restrictive and coercive acts were passed by Congress. These acts marked the advent of the Carpet Bagger and the political adventurer in positions of authority in the Southern States and along the border line between the so-called North and South. In some of the States there was complete

substitution of Carpet Bag political control. Residents of the States were disfranchised and in many cases called for trial for alleged treasonable acts.

In 1868 the Democratic Party, in a quandary to know where its National Council might be held, determined that in New York City its delegates and its members would receive the greatest consideration. Accordingly, the National Convention of 1868 assembled in Tammany Hall and presented the first national ticket offered after the close of the war. It was welcomed to the Great Wigwam by August Belmont, banker and Grand Sachem of Tammany and Chairman of the Democratic National Committee. The convention nominated Horatio Seymour, Democratic Governor of the State and Sachem of the Tammany Society. New York's electoral vote was cast for Seymour, and while he received almost as large a popular vote as Ulysses S. Grant, the votes of several of the Southern States were cast by Carpet Bag Federal officials in control of the States' affairs, or were not counted at all. An act of Congress debarred the States of Mississippi, Texas and Virginia from choosing Presidential electors.

For more than a generation after the close of the Civil War Tammany members of Congress continued to oppose, and in many cases successfully, the "reconstruction" measures that were brought forward year after year to regulate and harass Southern States. The last of these oppressive measures, known as the Lodge Force bill, was defeated by the aid of Tammany in the session of Congress held in 1900.

TREASON WITHIN

For a brief period during the political and industrial unsettlement and uncertainty after the close of the Civil War, Tammany was compelled to undertake a house-cleaning within its own ranks. Members of a faction of office-holders identified with the organization were proven faithless of the trust imposed in them. The respected and conservative leaders of the Tammany Society and of the Democratic Committee, however, without delay, exposed these miscreants and led in their prosecution. They were not only dismissed from office and punished, but many of them were driven into exile. Their leader, William M. Tweed, while awaiting

trial, escaped to Spain, but was recaptured and brought back. While under sentence he died in custody in 1878.

More than fifty years have elapsed since the Tweed episode. The leaders in the Tammany house-cleaning restored Tammany to its old vigor and patriotism, and two of them, Governor Samuel J. Tilden and Charles O'Connor, were nominated for the Presidency. O'Connor, who had defended Jefferson Davis of the Confederacy and had led in the prosecution of Tweed, declined the nomination.

In the last three generations Tammany has time and again won the approval and commendation of the electorate. Its candidates have held the principal elective offices within the gift of the people. Members of Tammany have been chosen for Governorship, United States Senators, members of Congress, to high judicial offices and to the principal positions in New York City Government.

The building known as Tammany Hall is owned and controlled by the Society of Tammany, or Columbian Order. The term "Tammany Hall," however, in popular significance, is used to designate the Democratic Party in the County of New York. This designation arises from the fact that the assembly hall of the society, ever since the construction of the first Tammany Hall in 1811, has been the meeting place of the elected representative committees of the Democratic Party.

In a similar manner the dominant forces of the local Democracy prior to 1811 acquired the names of "Martling Party" and "Tammanial Party," because they met in the society's wigwam at Martling's Long Room, and in the struggle with Dewitt Clinton for supremacy within the party, the faction led by the society was called "Bucktails" after the well-known Tammany emblem. Since 1817, however, the phrase "Tammany Hall" has been used as the political name of the Democratic Party in the county.

Originally an organization of purely social, charitable and patriotic motives, the Tammany Society was transformed into an agency for the promotion and maintenance of republican principles. From 1800 until 1871 the Council of Sachems of the Tammany Society, by its control of the use of the Hall, passed upon the regularity of

committees, conventions and nominations of the party and was the directing power of party affairs. By custom and precedent, therefore, the body that met in Tammany Hall was regarded as the regular Democratic Party and its nominees were accepted as the regular party candidates.

After a reorganization of the Democratic County Committee in 1871, when the Assembly District was adopted as the basis of representation, the society slowly relinquished its hold upon the party machinery and the evolution of State election laws regulating party control completed the separation.

POLITICAL AND PATRIOTIC ENTITIES

The political organization known as Tammany Hall and the Society of Tammany, or Columbian Order, in the City of New York, are now separate and distinct entities—the former a body created and regulated by statute, a legalized functionary of party government; the latter the continuation of an ancient and honorable patriotic movement, tracing its traditions and public service through nearly 150 years of active life.

The New York County Committee provides the framework of the organization known as Tammany Hall. It is the direct successor of the "General Committee," whose origin may be traced to the Ward Committee of the early days of the republican (now Democratic) scheme of party organization in New York. The County Committee is still popularly called the General Committee of the party. However, the official, legal term "County Committee" has supplanted the term "General Committee" in recent legislative enactments and judicial decisions relating to party government and the legal title now is "County Committee."

When the Democratic General Committee of the County of New York was reorganized in 1871 the basis of representation in the committee was changed from the ward to the Assembly district. The increase in the number of voters brought a corresponding increase in the number of the General or County Committee, so that the number is now regulated on the basis of the Democratic vote cast for the party's candidate for Governor at the preceding Gubernatorial election. The membership of the County Committee increased from 400 in 1869 to

800 in 1874, to 1,250 in 1880, to 3,500 in 1893, to 7,900 in 1908, to 11,264 in 1924 and decreased to 10,774 in 1928.

With realization of the relationship of party machinery to public affairs, the State adopted a statute of regulating parties by statute, and the political party in New York State is now recognized by law and made a part of the regular mechanism of government. In this progressive change Tammany has led.

In 1866 the New York State Legislature passed an act making corrupt practices at party primaries a misdemeanor punishable by fine or imprisonment. In 1882 further protection was given to the primaries, and certain acts such as the false impersonation of a voter, voting without right, prevention of others from voting and fraudulent concealment or destruction of ballots were made crimes. A system of challenges of voters was provided, and the election officials of the general election were directed to preside at the primaries. The law as amended provided for the appointment of watchers; it required that the ballot box be kept in a conspicuous place in full view of the watchers; it required the keeping of a poll list and the making and filing of returns in the County Clerk's office. The qualifications to enable a voter to participate in the primaries were, under the law, "those prescribed by the regulations of the association holding the primary or convention."

In 1898 and 1899 further safeguards were thrown around the primaries; the State by legislative enactment recognized the equal importance of the primary and general elections and modeled the conduct of the primary upon the general lines of conduct of the general election. The new laws provided for the enrolment of the voters, and the only exaction permitted precedent to a voter's right to enroll was that he was required to express an intention to support generally at the next State or national elections the nominees of his party. Booths at the public expense were provided, which permitted the primary voter to cast his ballot in secret. A standard ballot and its mode of printing was provided for, and an annual primary day was fixed, with provision that the polls be opened for a fixed period of time in each Election District.

In 1911 the Legislature passed an act pro-

viding for an official ballot at the primaries, printed and distributed at the public expense. The dominant idea pervading the entire series of legislation on primary elections is the absolute assurance to the citizen that his wish as to the conduct of affairs by his party may be expressed through his ballot resulting in the effective operation in the primaries of the underlying principle of democracy which makes the will of unfettered majority control. In other words, the scheme is to permit the voters to construct the party from the bottom upward, instead of permitting leaders to construct it from the top downward.

Under the law, therefore, the sovereign power of the party is the enrolled voter. The Election law provides that before a person is entitled to participate in the party primaries that person must have enrolled as a member of the party at the preceding general registration. The mechanics of becoming an enrolled Democrat is simple. No person may vote at a general election unless he or she shall first register as a voter pursuant to law. At the time of registration such person is given an enrolment blank or ballot, upon which he or she may declare affiliation with the Democratic Party. The enrolment blank or ballot is then deposited in a box kept secret until after the general election is held. The voter's name is then placed on the enrolment list of the party and the person is then entitled to participate at all the party primaries during the year.

CLOSE POLITICAL SUPERVISION

There is no section of the United States where political organizations and elections are more closely supervised, or more minutely directed and controlled by law, than in New York. No voter enrolled in a party under provisions of law can be excluded from participation in party meetings, primaries or elections. No party voter can be prevented from enrolment. Membership in party committees in New York can be secured or denied only under strict, legally defined conditions. Nominations for party or public offices are likewise legally safeguarded.

At all polling places provision is made for watchers and challengers of opposition parties, whose rights are guaranteed and de-

fined by law. These watchers are authorized to challenge any person whose right to the suffrage they consider questionable.

The Democratic organization of New York City has actively advocated ballot reform. Its representatives in the Legislature brought about equal suffrage for men and women. It was a leading Tammany legislator, Robert F. Wagner, now United States Senator, who led the battle to give the vote to the women of New York.

It has been since elections and election machinery have been under strict legal supervision that Tammany has scored its greatest successes and won the most pronounced evidences of public confidence. It has triumphed over "fusions" of party and factional adversaries and has increased its representation in Congress, in the State Legislature and in county and city offices.

TAMMANY'S VINDICATION

The most striking and convincing refutation of the charge that Tammany wins at the polls by fraud has occurred within the recollection of most present-day voters. After George B. McClellan had been elected in 1904 by a large majority it was asserted that his re-election two years later was by manipulation and fraud. Every accusation that had been registered against Tammany for a century, and every new one that invention could devise, was lodged against the Mayor and Tammany.

Charles E. Hughes was Governor. He was appealed to by the anti-Tammany forces, and suits were started in every court that had any semblance of jurisdiction. About every expedient possible to "expose" Tammany was resorted to and advertised.

After innumerable manoeuvres the case came up for trial before Judge John S. Lambert, a Republican Judge, one of the ablest jurists in the State of New York. A special jury was chosen, the impaneling of which took three weeks, and hundreds of witnesses were examined. By order of the Court all the ballot boxes were opened and the contents examined by representatives of all shades of public opinion, and indisputable evidence proved that the election had been absolutely fair. No fraud or corruption was revealed, and the charges against Tammany that there had been a fraudulent election were absolutely shattered.

II—Tammany's Policy Of "Rule Or Ruin"

By DENIS TILDEN LYNCH

AUTHOR OF *"Boss" Tweed: The Story of a Grim Generation* AND
Martin Van Buren: An Epoch and a Man

JUDGE OLVANY'S sketch of the organization of which he is the head is at variance with the record, a circumstance attributable, no doubt, to his preoccupation with the arduous labors of the Presidential campaign. Tammany was founded by William Mooney, an upholsterer, May 12, 1789, nearly six years after the signing of the articles of peace between the United States and Great Britain, and less than a month after Washington was declared President. The primary purpose of Mooney and his associates was to oppose the centralization of Government, which they regarded as a menace to the common liberties of the people and the sovereignty of the States. Judah Hammond tells us that at its inception Tammany avoided participation in party politics, and adds:

But when President Washington, in the latter part of his Administration, rebuked "self-created societies," from an apprehension that their ultimate tendency would be hostile to the public tranquillity, the members of Tammany supposed their institution to be included in its reproof, and they almost forsook it. The founder, William Mooney, and a few others, continued steadfast. At one anniversary they were reduced so low that but three persons attended its festival. From this time it became a political institution and took ground with Thomas Jefferson.

Hammond became a member of Tammany in 1803, when the average attendance at its meetings was but ten or fifteen. The year before, De Witt Clinton accused Aaron Burr of having conspired to defeat Jefferson for President, and as Burr was the head and heart of Tammany those who believed the charge abandoned the organization. Hence its small membership in 1803.

There is nothing apocryphal as to the time and purpose of the first convention in New York State for the nomination of Governor and Lieutenant Governor—the only elective State officials in New York's early days. The first State Convention of the Republican Party—as the Democratic Party was then called—was held in Albany, March 25, 1817, six years after the date named by

Judge Olvany. Prior to that time candidates for these two highest offices in the State were chosen at caucuses of legislators of their respective partisans, the Federalists and the Republicans. De Witt Clinton, apprehensive that the Burrites or Martling Men, as the Tammany faction was known, would control the legislative caucus, demanded a State Convention composed of delegates chosen by each county. The argument of the Clintonians—a sound one—was that partisans in counties represented by Federalists had no voice in selecting nominees for State office in the legislative caucus.

The Martling Men and their allies outside the city attempted to retain the old method, but the Clintonians rejoined that in 1813 their factional enemies had by formal resolution recommended the change. It being apparent that Clinton had the popular side, Tammany and its allies capitulated. They next planned to prevent any delegate from sitting in the convention who was not a member of the Legislature, but this was abandoned when Martin Van Buren, then a State Senator, and other foes of Clinton up-State, took counsel among themselves. Clinton was nominated.

It is a fallacy to suggest that the change from a legislative caucus to a State convention in this period of New York was a signal victory for democratic principles. The State was governed by a landed aristocracy. The Legislature was well-nigh impotent, as the Council of Revision, consisting of the Governor, Chancellor and Judges of the Supreme Court, could negative any of its acts. And popular voice in elections existed only in dreams of radicals. Greater restrictions were thrown around the privilege of suffrage in New York than in any of the other Middle Atlantic or New England States, and even the Constitutional Amendment of 1821 was only a gesture in the direction of manhood suffrage.

Judge Olvany is in accord with the record in citing Tammany's loyalty during the

War of 1812, but the record does not support his assertion that Tammany, "following the war with Great Britain" espoused the cause of the naturalized citizen and vanquished the Know Nothings. In the fight against Know Nothingism Tammany played a minor and futile rôle, and for many years after the War of 1812 the organization was the centre of bigotry, and it was especially hostile to citizens of Irish birth or extraction. That Clinton was the grandson of an Irishman was one of the counts in Tammany's indictment against him. Thomas Addis Emmett, brother of the Irish martyr, was also a victim of Tammany's proscription against those of his blood. Both Emmett and Clinton were Protestants; that mattered little; it was enough that they were of Irish strain.

The passive attitude of Emmett's compatriots ended on the night of April 24, 1817, when, after drinking confusion to their enemies, they sallied forth from Dooley's Long Room crying the virtues of Emmett and Clinton. They were two hundred strong. Their objective was the Wigwam, where an equal number of Tammanyites were in secret conclave. Their intention was to prevail upon Tammany to send Emmett, then one of the recognized leaders of the bar, to Congress. A fight started. First it was fists and blackened eyes and then it was chairs and battered heads, and presently the invaders found themselves in full possession of Tammany. The Irish made a complete wreck of the interior of the Wigwam before the Braves returned with heavy reinforcements and drove them into the night. It was not until after the heavy influx of Germans and Irish in the late '40s that the open hostility of Tammany toward the foreign-born ceased, but covertly this feeling continued for another decade or more.

Judge Olvany's accounts of Tammany's



"CAN THE LAW REACH HIM?—THE DWARF AND THE GIANT THIEF"
Tweed as portrayed by Thomas Nast in *Harper's Weekly* of Jan. 6, 1872

(Illustrations in this article from Werner's *Tammany Hall*)

part in the Civil War gives but one side of the story. He quotes from a document of the first month of this fratricidal struggle. Most of the leaders of Tammany, high and low, some for gain and some because of honest convictions, directed a secret as well as an open campaign against the cause of the Union. Let me quote from *The New York Herald* of Nov. 28, 1861 (Fernando Wood, Mayor of New York City, is speaking):

A party [the Republican Party] who will oppress you by unjust taxation and exaction—who will grind you down to the earth—who will compel you to work for 50 cents a day, and even withhold that from you if it can do it by fraud. . . . These men [the Republicans] are not only in favor of prosecuting the war, but they are in favor of perpetuating and prolonging the war. They are in favor of the war so long as a dollar of the public money is to be expended,

and in the expenditure they can participate. They will get Irishmen and Germans to fill the regiments and go forth to defend the country, under the idea that they themselves will remain at home to divide the amount of plunder that is to be distributed.

In the same issue, *The Herald* has an editorial praising Wood, who made this speech the evening before at the Volks Garden to an audience composed largely of German and Irish workingmen. It may be said that Tammany at this particular time was at odds with Wood. True, but he was not long out of the fold, and in the two municipal elections during the Civil War, Tammany nominated for Mayor C. Godfrey Gunther, as rabid an anti-war Democrat as Wood, but unlike him, honest.

Judge Olvany makes no references to the dishonorable part played by Horatio Seymour as Governor in fomenting the Draft Riots, or to the Copperheadism of August Belmont in his mention of them. Errors of fact as well as of omission pervade his brief

account of the fall of the Tweed Ring and Tammany's treatment of its prosecutors, Samuel J. Tilden and Charles O'Connor. He would make it appear that the Tweed Ring was crushed because of a moral regeneration among Tammany leaders. These things he omits to state: The crusade against Tweed was instituted by George Jones, editor of *The New York Times*; and immediately thereafter Tammany buckled on its armor and rushed to the defense of its immortal leader, while Tweed's newspaper allies—Republicans and Democrats alike—loosed their batteries of billingsgate at Jones and his chief aide, Louis John Jennings.

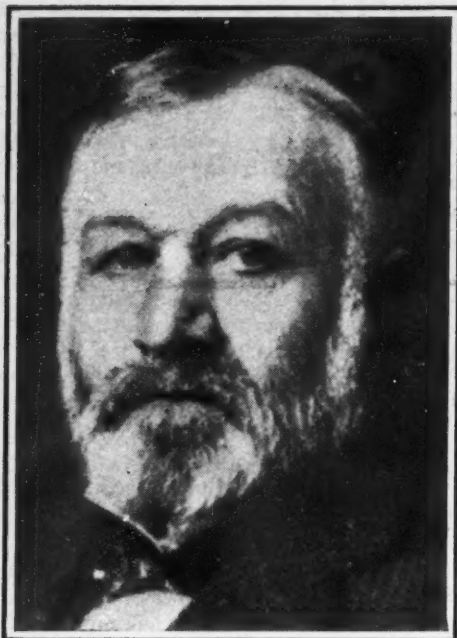
Jones began his brave fight on Sept. 20, 1870. On Oct. 27, at a meeting in Tammany Hall, called to order by Tweed, and presided over by Belmont, the Boss and his allies hurled defiance at his critics. On the platform sat Horatio Seymour and Fernando Wood. Somewhere else was John Jacob

Astor and the four other richest men of the city preparing their infamous certificate of character for Tweed and his Ring which they published the morning before election, thus ensuring the re-election of Mayor A. Oakley Hall, Tweed's "Elegant Oakley." And no mention is made of Tweed's contribution of \$50,000—he was then stealing at the rate of \$1,000,000 a month from the city treasury—to the annual Christmas fund raised for the poor by the Tammany leaders, on which Jennings editorially commented: "Having created their destitution, the Tweed Gang now contemptuously fling a bone to them to stop their mouths." After *The New York Times* in the Summer of 1871 published the proofs of Tweed's guilt, Tammany renominated and re-elected him to the State Senate, and applauded Jay Gould, when he put up \$1,000,000 bail to free Tweed from jail.



THE ONLY THING THEY RESPECT OR FEAR

The famous Nast cartoon from *Harper's Weekly* of Oct. 21, 1871



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RICHARD CROKER

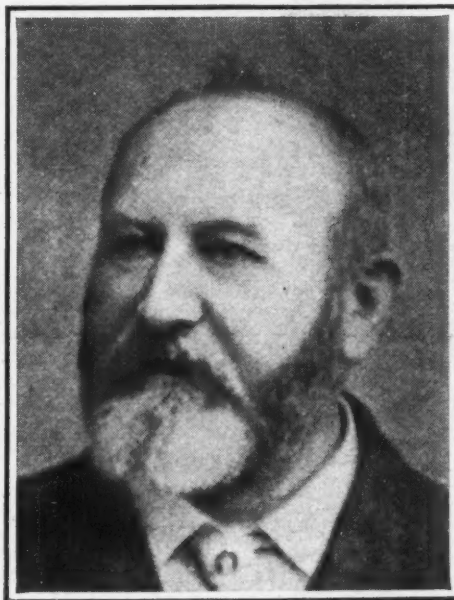
Leader of Tammany Hall 1885-1901

O'Connor, who had been in honorable retirement when he came forth to aid Tilden in the prosecution of the Tweed Ring, was too old to be harassed by Tammany. But Tilden, for the part he played in destroying Tweed, was to feel the claws of the tiger until he, too, had passed the age where political prosecution meant little. "Honest John" Kelly—one of the few Tammany leaders who did not publicly abandon Tweed after his conviction, but who remained loyal to him even in death, and who succeeded him as leader of Tammany, led the Wigwam's fight against Tilden in the Democratic National Convention of 1876, and Tammany voted for Rutherford B. Hayes, the Republican nominee for President, in the general election of that year. Three years later, when Governor Lucius B. Robinson, a loyal follower of Tilden, was nominated by the rest of the Democratic Party of the State, Tammany, again led by Kelly, held a rump convention and nominated "Honest John" for Governor. Tammany polled enough votes for Kelly in November, 1879, to defeat Robinson and elect Alonzo B. Cornell, Republican candidate for Governor.

Again, in the Democratic National Convention of 1884, Kelly and all Tammany fought the nomination of Cleveland and cast its strength against him in November after vilifying him in the campaign. Richard Croker, who followed "Honest John," carried on the campaign of bitterness and vilification against Cleveland. The opposition of Tammany to Woodrow Wilson under Murphy, who was elevated to the Tammany throne after Croker abdicated, continued while Wilson remained on earth.

This policy of "rule or ruin" has been typical of Tammany since the days of Burr, but it was not until 1876 that the country became aware of it. Tweed perfected the policy and made it practically an unfailing system. This he did by making the local Republican machine subservient to him through placing its leaders on his personal or on the public payroll and through the granting of favors within his disposal. By means of this bi-partisan arrangement, Tammany can relegate to private life public men who interfere with the perquisites to plunder of some of its leaders or who otherwise incur the displeasure of Tammany.

In 1922 the most noted of these bi-parti-



From the collection of Edwin P. Kilroe

WILLIAM M. TWEED

Active in New York politics, 1850-72



WHO STOLE THE PEOPLES MONEY? - DO TELL N.Y. TIMES.

'T WAS HIM.

Cartoon by Thomas Nast, which appeared in *Harper's Weekly* of Aug. 9, 1871



"AN ENGLISH COUNTRY SEAT AND RACING STABLE COST A LOT OF MONEY—AND HE KNOWS HOW TO GET IT"

Croker as caricatured in *Puck* of Oct. 23, 1901

san deals was effected. At that time Judge John P. Cohalan of the Surrogates', or Probate, Court was rounding out his fourteen years on the bench. The various bar associations unanimously endorsed him for renomination. Mr. Olvany was then a Tammany district leader, Charles F. Murphy being still alive. Judge Cohalan charged that because he had refused to take orders from Mr. Murphy he was denied the Tammany renomination. Samuel S. Koenig, leader of the local Republican machine, instead of nominating Judge Cohalan, as prominent Republicans, independent Democrats and various non-partisan groups urged him to do, named one of his own henchmen as the Republican nominee, and Murphy named one of his who had been on the public payroll a quarter of a century or so. *The quid pro quo*, to borrow the title of an editorial condemning the deal—all the newspapers condemned it—was the nomination of Mr. Koenig's brother, Morris, for Judge of General Sessions. Morris Koenig, like his brother, is an enrolled Republican, and with the nomination of the two local machines his election was unanimous. Henry A. Wise publicly accused Samuel Koenig of bribery and challenged him to sue for libel. Koenig, like Murphy, said nothing, but they relegated Cohalan to private life and Murphy's candidate was elected. Not a single leader in Tammany Hall, or any of its men in public office, opened his mouth in condemnation of this deal, which was scored by platform and press. In the biography of Governor Smith (*Up From the City Streets*, by Norman Hapgood and Henry Moskowitz) an explanation for this silence is found on Pages 44-45: "A young man who dealt with Tom Foley in the organization did what he was told with the precision of the army. To do anything else was to have a swelled head, and a swelled head was political death." The Foley referred to was the Tammany leader of the Assembly District which Smith represented in the Legislature, and until his death four years ago the most powerful leader, next to Murphy, in the Wigwam. But we may use the name of Tom Foley generically.

The divorcement of Tammany Hall, the political organization, from the Society of Tammany or Columbian Order, the secret "benevolent and patriotic society," described

by Judge Olvany, is more fancied than real. There is not much point to it, one way or the other, but Judge Olvany has raised the question. All the officers of the latter body are now, as they always have been, Tammanyites of prominence and with rare exceptions holders of public office. John R. Voorhis, Grand Sachem of the order, is Commissioner of the Board of Elections at a salary of \$8,000. The Sachems on the public payroll and their salaries are: Alfred E. Smith, Governor, \$25,000; James A. Foley, Surrogate, \$22,500; T. C. T. Crain, Supreme Court Justice, \$22,500; Daniel L. Ryan, Commissioner of the Board of Transportation, \$15,000; John F. Curry, Commissioner of Records, \$8,500; Louis F. Haffen, Consulting Engineer, \$8,200; Daniel E. Finn, Supreme Court Clerk, \$6,500; Dr. Thomas Darlington, Sanitary Engineer, \$3,150.

In discussing woman suffrage Judge Olvany is somewhat remiss. In the early stages of the fight in New York State for the extension of the voting privilege to women Tammany and its leaders were in the opposition. When the proposed amendment to the State Constitution was first submitted to the people in 1915 Tammany helped to defeat it in New York County, where the vote was 117,610 "noes" and 88,610 "ayes." The measure, before being resubmitted to the people, had to be adopted by two successive Legislatures. Both these Legislatures were controlled by the Republicans. The movement had gained such momentum by 1917 that the vote in New York County was reversed in November of that year, the official canvass showing 129,412 "ayes" and 89,124 "noes." The introducers of the proposal which gave the vote to the women of New York were Senator Whitney and Assemblyman Brereton—Republicans. And it should also be noted that the vast majority of professional politicians in both parties were opposed to woman suffrage to the very end, and many legislators who did not believe in extending the electoral franchise voted to adopt the proposal through fear of reprisals.

Judge Olvany has not dwelt on any of the scandals of Tammany, past or present, save in his brief allusion to the Tweed Ring. And in this regard, as in others, his example has governed my pen.

The Farm Problem Made Clear

I—The Farmers' Problems and Proposed Solutions

By KENYON L. BUTTERFIELD

LATELY PRESIDENT OF MICHIGAN STATE COLLEGE; APPOINTED BY PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT A MEMBER OF THE COUNTRY LIFE COMMISSION AND BY PRESIDENT WILSON A MEMBER OF THE COMMISSION ON RURAL CREDITS

THE American people should understand that the American farm question is not a mere "howl" from a group of disaffected and perhaps inefficient citizens who have not been able to grab their share of current prosperity. It has become one of the fundamental issues of our national policy.

Nor is the question one of quick relief alone. The place of the farmers in the economic and social life of the United States for a century to come will probably be settled, either by drift or by design, during the next decade, possibly during the next Administration at the national capital.

The immediacy of need for relief should not be overlooked, however. The farmer is at bay. There is no farm party and no prospect of one. There is even no unanimity of view on the part of the embattled farmers. But they are deeply stirred and thoroughly uneasy, even when not vociferous. They are in general convinced that "there is something wrong," something that multitudes of them believe can be remedied or at least alleviated by legislation. Indeed, all students of the problem agree that while not all farming is depressed nor all farmers discouraged, American agriculture presents a real issue for statesmen.

But what is American agriculture?

The American Farm—If there were brought into being "The United States Farm Corporation," controlling the entire farming business of the country, it would have to be capitalized for not less than \$60,000,000,000 to cover tangible physical values alone.

Its plant would consist first of all of a little less than one-half of the land area of the country, or some 925,000,000 acres.

Of this acreage about 350,000,000 acres would be in crops, the balance "improved," that is in pasture, wood lots, grazing and so forth. The cropped land, if it could be concentrated in one solid piece, would comprise over 550,000 square miles, an area twelve times the size of the State of New York.

The buildings on this plant would be worth some \$12,000,000,000, the machinery \$2,500,000,000, the live stock \$7,500,000,000. Feed would have to be provided for some 15,000,000 horses and mules, 60,000,000 cattle, 40,000,000 sheep, 50,000,000 swine and 400,000,000 poultry.

The business of this corporation would be to produce food and fibers. About three-fourths of the product would be food and one-fourth fibers, mostly cotton. But it would find itself producing thirty to forty different commodities on a considerable scale, and many more on a smaller scale. The peanut field alone would be half again as large as the State of Delaware. Each commodity would have its own peculiar technique of production and its own peculiar market. If the corporation had been doing business during the year 1927 it would have found that the total value of its product at the farm for that year was some \$17,000,000,000. Nearly \$5,000,000,000 worth of the year's production would have been used to feed live stock, for seed, and so forth. Over 80 per cent. of the remaining value would have arisen from the sale of ten commodities; namely, cotton, hogs, cattle, wheat, milk, corn, butter, eggs, tobacco and potatoes, valuable somewhat in the order named.

The corporation would have earned perhaps 4 per cent. on its total capital investment, but to do this it could have paid an

annual wage to its 10,000,000 or 11,000,000 "hands," about one-half as much per person as is paid employees in our factories. And it could have spared no money for salaries of general officers, superintendents and technical experts.

The new members of the board would be reminded of some of the differences between this farming business and other types of business—its vast complexity caused by variations of soil, of climate, of market demands and in efficiency of the workers; the "gambling" element in farming, growing out of such factors as inability to control the weather, and the consequent variations in yield of product; the perishable character of some of the commodities produced; variations in quality of product; impossibility of standardizing costs of production; difficulty of expanding the market by means of high-pressure salesmanship.

The American Farmer—But "The United States Farm Corporation" does not exist, and never will. American agriculture, however, in spite of its complexity, has a real unity. A national agricultural policy must be based upon the idea of "the great American farm."

But it must be based also upon another outstanding fact, that farming, as at present practiced, is a highly individualistic business. Instead of a unified management for the entire industry there are 6,000,000 managers. Each farm is a business unit and each farmer is a manager as well as a worker. Not quite two-thirds of these managers are owners, the remainder tenants. The "average" American farmer is investor, manager, laborer.

A mere fraction of these 6,000,000 farmers are specialists to the extent of producing but one commodity—rather they grow from three to five commodities. But there are more or less extensive belts or zones of production—the cotton belt, corn belt, wheat belt, sugar beet belt. There are fruit areas, dairy regions, potato areas. Not that all of a given commodity is produced within a belt or zone; on the contrary these areas are often highly competitive—another one of the crucial phases of the farm problem today.

Now what is the difficulty, if any, that is faced by this American farm and this

American farmer? *If any!* There are those who deny the existence of a real trouble, or of one that is more than temporary, or at least of troubles that are not the fault of the farmer himself. The following facts seem to be supported by various recent studies:

Prices for Farm Products—Taking as a basis of 100 all prices averaged for the five years, 1909-14, the prices for agricultural commodities at the farms, which reached a peak of 209 in 1919, dropped to 116 in 1921, and since then have averaged around 130. But prices are relative. The wholesale prices of non-agricultural commodities, on the same basis, reached their peak in 1920 at 241, and since then have been in the neighborhood of 160 until 1927. For the past year and a half they have been about 152. Thus, the purchasing power of farm products, 100 in 1909-14, reached 107 in 1918, went to 69 in 1921, and has since ranged around 75 to 85, being now about 92. If the comparison is made for a period of nearly thirty years, with the prices of 1913 as the basis, it is found that prices for farm products have been lower than those for non-agricultural products for most of the years during the entire period.

Costs of Production: Prices for Farm Requirements—The farmer, of course, is a purchaser. He uses directly the products and services of other industries to the extent of \$6,000,000,000 or \$7,000,000,000 a year; and \$3,000,000,000 to \$4,000,000,000 more indirectly through wages, taxes, rent and interest. Therefore prices affect him when he buys as well as when he sells. It is stated that "farmers were purchasing commodities in 1920 at an advance of 116.5 per cent. over prices of 1913, and in 1925 at a 78 per cent. advance over 1913. Meantime we remember that the farmer's wealth increased only about 10 per cent. between 1913 and 1925." "In 1924 it required 72 per cent. more bushels of wheat to buy ten typical farm machines than before the war." The situation has eased somewhat since 1924.

Taxes—Taxes on farm property increased in the ratio of 100 in 1914 to 250 in 1927, while farm prices increased only to 130. The total amount of the taxes paid on farm property increased during this period from \$340,000,000 to \$870,000,000. In recent years

taxes have taken one-third of the net property income of farmers, and in some areas one-half.

Debt—Between 1910 and 1925 the amount of mortgage debt on owner-operated farms increased from \$1,726,000,000 to \$4,517,000,000; and the ratio of debt to value, from 27.3 per cent. to 41.9 per cent. The total debt of American farmers today, both mortgage and personal, is probably between \$11,000,000,000 and \$12,000,000,000. The farmer, moreover, has had for several years to pay interest and principal with an income that has had a purchasing power of about 80, compared with 1910-14. In 1924-25 it took 30 per cent. of the cash income of owner-operators to pay interest on their debts.

Interest rates on long-time loans are probably a little higher than such rates usually are. There is wide variation in rates for short-time loans, but they often run to 10 or 12 per cent. The intermediate credit bank system has helped at this point. Store credit is still heavy and costly, a terrific drain on the farm purse. There have been instances where it has run as high as 20 to 40 per cent.

Farm wages, on the basis of 100 in 1910-14, went to 239 in 1920, and were 168 in 1925—whereas the relative purchasing power of farm products in 1925 was 89.

COSTS OF PRODUCTION AND PRICES

There follows a comparison of the major items of costs of production and prices, with the year 1914 as a basis, 1919 as the high water mark of farm prices, 1921 as the year of the great "slump," and 1925 as a year of record:

	1914	1919	1921	1925
Farm prices, 30 items.....	100	205	114	144
Farm wages	100	203	148	166
Interest on debts per \$1,000				
of property value	100	122	155	154
Taxes on \$1,000 property				
value	100	112	171	212
Farm implements	100	144	147	135
Building costs	100	182	184	202
Farmers' cost of living.....	100	185	164	169
Composite costs	100	174	160	168

Costs of Distribution—One year ago food products sold by farmers were 50 per cent. higher than before the war, but retail prices for food, ranging, by the way, about the same as general living costs, were nearly 75 per cent. higher than before the war.

Freight rates on fifty representative

farm products have increased 57 per cent. since 1913. In 1923-4 over 18 per cent. of the net farm income went to the railroads; on Class I railways the products of agriculture contributed 20 per cent. of the revenue from freight on 11 per cent. of the tonnage.

Share of National Wealth—The wealth of the nation was perhaps \$175,000,000,000 in 1910 and is now possibly \$400,000,000,000; farm wealth was \$40,000,000,000 in 1910 and is now \$60,000,000,000, a drop from nearly \$80,000,000,000 in 1920. Twenty years ago our farmers possessed nearly one-fourth of the national wealth, whereas today they have less than one-sixth of it. Moreover, the purchasing power of the farm wealth of the United States is 15 per cent. less than it was fifteen years ago.

Share of National Income—In 1921 agriculture, with 22 per cent. of the working population of the country, received 10½ per cent. of the national income, as compared with 1911, when it had 17 per cent. of the income, and employed 24½ per cent. of the working population. The farmers' share in the national income has been decreasing for twenty-five years.

Earnings of Farmers—The annual return per farmer for labor and management for the years 1910-14 averaged \$482; for 1920-25, \$613. The annual earnings of workers in other occupations increased at the same time from \$666 to \$1,399. During the former period the farmer earned 72 per cent. as much as did other workers; in the latter period 44 per cent.

Other facts, often quoted, that bear upon the situation may be mentioned here, but their bare recital hardly indicates their significance. For example, during the past seven years there has been a net loss of over 3,000,000 in the farm population. The bank failures for the six years 1921-6 inclusive averaged 463 per year, reaching 837 in 1924, and 547 as late as 1926. Most of these were rural banks. Bankruptcies among farmers averaged .14 per 1,000 farms during the years 1905-14, and 1.22 during the years 1924-6. In 1880 25 per cent. of the farms were operated by tenants; at present, nearly 40 per cent. In the good year 1919-20 the tenant farmer had a return of \$1,326 for his year's work, the owner-operator \$793. In the bad year

1921-2 the tenant got \$793, the owner-operator \$178. In 1924-5 the figures were, for tenants \$1,122, and for owner-operators \$573.

This entire array of facts is not of itself conclusive evidence of the exact farm situation, for the figures need interpretation and even in some cases qualification. But as they stand they may be accepted as an indication of an untoward if not of a serious situation. These comparisons are in averages. Over great areas conditions are much worse than the figures indicate, as, of course, in many cases they are better. It is to be noted that most of the comparisons are not with the boom years of rising prices, 1917-20, but usually with the pre-war years 1910-14. Yet Mr. Hoover says it is a false premise to assume that "rehabilitation will be complete when it has reached a point comparable with pre-war. Agriculture was not upon a satisfactory basis before the war."

EXPLANATIONS OF THE FACTS

There is no consensus of interpretation of these and similar facts. There are rather groups of opinion, at least with reference to the fundamental causes for what is evidently a depressed agriculture. The popular explanations by non-farmers seem to stress overproduction, land speculation and poor farming as the main causes.

Overproduction—There has been a steadily decreasing demand in Europe for our farm products. In recent years farm imports have exceeded exports, running as high as \$150,000,000 net imports in 1923-4.

In our own country the consumption of wheat flour has declined from 1.148 barrels per capita in 1889 to .891 barrels in 1923; of corn meal, from .597 barrels to .139 during the same period; in all meats, from 159 pounds per capita in 1907 to 143 pounds in 1926. During the fifteen years preceding 1925 the number of horses in the United States decreased by over 5,000,000, or nearly one-fourth, and thereby released the equivalent of 15,000,000 acres of oat land for other purposes. (The acreage in oats, however, is higher than before the war.) There was marked expansion of crop acreage during the war, not yet entirely corrected. There is some ground for the belief in overproduction as a cause.

Land Speculation—There was undoubtedly land speculation during the war and immediately following it. But, eliminating the purchases of land by younger men who wanted land for farming and had to buy at going prices or not at all, there seems to be little evidence that many farmers have indulged in land purchase purely for speculative purposes.

Increase in Productivity—There is poor farming, and plenty of it. But it hardly serves to explain the decline in farm prosperity of the past eight years. In fact it is generally agreed that the farmer has gained in efficiency. Indeed, it is claimed that on the basis of value of output per worker, agricultural productivity has increased during the past twenty-five years quite as much as manufacturing productivity.

Special students of the subject tend to stress increased costs, the tariff and deflation as the main causes of depression.

Increased Costs—There seems to be little difference of opinion among students that increased costs of production which cannot be passed on to the consumer represent a very large factor in the adverse farm situation. Higher prices for farm labor and farm machinery and in general for all farm supplies, for transportation and other distribution costs, interest payments, higher taxes, these costs are appreciably and decisively higher. Moreover, the standards of living of farmers have increased perceptibly in recent years, in terms at least of certain requirements like automobiles.

The Tariff—It is fairly clear that great groups of farmers as well as many economists believe that the operation of the tariff is not only adverse to agriculture, but one of the main factors in the depression. For the measures of legislative relief proposed and pressed by farmers are frankly aimed at making tariff protection more effective for agriculture.

Deflation—"Whenever retail prices are higher than the level of wages and handling charges, prices paid to farmers rise by a greater percentage than do retail prices. Whenever retail prices are low in relation to wages and handling charges, prices paid to farmers fall by a greater percentage than do retail prices. A severe agricultural depression is an inevitable result of rapid

deflation." This statement by Dr. Warren of Cornell University formulates the thesis of those who believe that the root of the matter was the deflation of 1920. "The larger Federal Reserve banks raised their rates to 7 per cent. in June, 1920. This was accompanied by a perpendicular decline in prices, production and speculation. The débâcle of prices which started in 1920 brought on the worst agricultural panic ever experienced in America."

The report of the Committee of all the Agricultural Colleges last year accepts deflation as the main cause of the present situation, and says:

The sudden and severe decline in the general price level, which brought with it an even greater decline in the price of most farm products, was the immediate cause of the agricultural depression.

Other industries also suffered severe losses during the deflation period, but most of these have now adjusted their operations to post-war conditions and have been in a prosperous condition for some time. Most branches of the farming industry have not fully recovered. The chief reasons for this fact are:

1. Continued high production of many farm commodities.
2. Changes in demand for some farm products.
3. Shifts and adjustments in agricultural production.
4. Failure of marketing, processing and distributing costs to decline.
5. Failure of farm expenses and living costs to decline as much as have prices of farm products.

THE WAY OUT

"Let It Alone"—There are those who urge that the operation of "the law of supply and demand" will prove a sufficient and, indeed, the only cure, if it be allowed to work. There are at least two drawbacks to this attempt at solution: We have not left industry nor transportation nor finance alone, but have hedged them about with all sorts of legislation, some designed to restrict, most of it designed to aid, these interests. In the second place, the farmers do not propose to have their troubles left alone.

The Surplus—Whatever the diverse views as to particular causes and their relative influence, there is substantial agreement, among the farmers at least, that the existence of a surplus of staple crops beyond the demand for them at prices profitable to the farmers is the main immediate problem. In agriculture the output of the com-

modity tends to determine its price. Even a small surplus is serious, a larger one may be ruinous. Control of the surplus is therefore vital.

Measures for Quick Relief: The McNary-Haugen Bill—The McNary-Haugen bill is the most conspicuous of the proposed measures for immediate farm relief. It has been before Congress for a half dozen years, has twice passed that body and has been twice vetoed by the President. The objects sought by this bill are, in general, as stated in the report of the House Committee on Agriculture, as follows:

1. To stabilize market price levels against excessive fluctuations.
2. To secure on commodities whose exportable surplus is small relative to the total domestic production, but is still large enough to influence materially the price in the home market, a domestic price for the bulk of the crop independent of the world price at which the surplus must be sold.
3. To secure a satisfactory world price for the producers of a crop like cotton, of which the American supply is the dominant factor in world price.

The machinery for attaining these desired ends consists:

1. In a Federal Farm Board of twelve members appointed by the President.
2. The authority to make loans to cooperative associations or their subsidiary corporations to assist in controlling the seasonal surplus in excess of domestic requirements.
3. Authority to collect a fee from the commodity sufficient to cover losses that may accrue from the differences between the desired domestic price and the world price for the exported surplus.
4. An appropriation for financing these operations, the Federal Treasury to be reimbursed for all its advances.

Export "Debentures" — The National Grange, our oldest farmers' organization, is backing a bill embodying the principle of a tariff drawback, by providing for "an arrangement whereby exporters of those agricultural products of which we produce a surplus receive from the Treasury Department certificates having a face value established by Congress and intended to represent the difference in costs of production between here and abroad, such certificates being negotiable and good for their face value in the payment of import tariffs on any articles later imported." The plan does not provide for purchasing and storing of any surplus.

The advocates of the bill claim for it such advantages as these:

1. That the principle of this bill—that of an export bounty on agricultural products—was originally suggested by Alexander Hamilton

as an organic part of the scheme for a protective tariff.

2. That the plan is simple and direct, requiring the collection of no fees, and no Government appropriations except a small one for the expenses of the board, which is an *ex officio* body.

3. That rates are adjustable to meet conditions.

4. That it is not a subsidy but is comparable to the drawback or the differential provisions of the present tariff. That the lessened receipts from the tariffs would not be large as compared with total Federal income, and that, anyway, the principle of the existing tariff system is not income but protection.

5. That it would not encourage overproduction, because the bill provides for reducing or removing the debenture on a crop that is overplanted.

6. That it is not only constitutional but follows established practice in tariff administration, that of the drawback.

The advocates of this plan have not opposed the equalization plan, but clearly regard the latter as involving many uncertainties, such as cost of collection of fees, extent of evasions, and amount of final gains to the producers.

The "Administration" Plan—This plan involves the following considerations, according to the Secretary of Agriculture:

There should be a Farm Board, consisting of able men who understand agriculture and are sympathetic toward its problems. Members of this body should not be sectional in the narrow sense or mere representatives of groups and classes to the exclusion of the general public interest.

This board would be a recognition of a public responsibility toward agriculture, in encouraging sound business methods in agriculture and in minimizing price fluctuations due to unpreventable surpluses and shortages.

This board would be backed by two main supports: First, a more adequate statistical service, supplying timely information on supply and demand factors, affecting the production and marketing of each major commodity. Second, a revolving fund from which the board could make advances to commodity organizations, according to law.

The activities of this board, in addition to enhancing the growth of sound organization in every practical way, would fall under two main heads: First, to aid in minimizing price fluctuations due to unpreventable surpluses; second, to help in adjusting production to market demand.

There would be established for each major commodity a stabilization corporation, with a nominal capital stock owned by properly organized commodity cooperatives. When an exceptional season resulted in a crop surplus, the stabilization corporation under the general guidance of the Farm Board would take part of that surplus off the market to prevent the price from dropping to an abnormally low level.

Changes in the Tariff—There is a

"school" which frankly depends upon higher tariffs to ease the situation, and points to the fact that our exports of foodstuffs are steadily falling and will soon cease; whereas our imports of soil-grown products are increasing and now aggregate some \$3,300,000,000 a year, approximately two-thirds of which, or over \$2,150,000,000, are probably competitive with American producers. The tariff of 1922 increased certain agricultural schedules but did not solve the problem of relief.

There is a group of economists who believe that the present high tariff is the main reason for the disparity between rural and urban incomes, and that "a reduction of tariffs to the minimum essential to maintain the protected industries would go far toward re-establishing pre-war price rates."

A Gradually Ascending General Price Level—This is the only remedy that has the confidence of those who believe deflation to be the heart of the trouble. They predict a continuance of the present level, or of a lower level for some while, and consequently do not look for full agricultural prosperity until the general price level becomes as high as it was when the present farm indebtedness was incurred.

Last year the Federal Reserve Board lowered the rediscount rate in order to "increase the buying power of Europeans for our cotton, wheat and other food supplies, and at the same time provide cheap domestic money for the movement of the crops." The board also asserts that farm products are now above the level of non-agricultural commodities, although that statement is not borne out by the figures emanating from the Department of Agriculture.

The Party Platforms—The Republican platform lays down the general principle that agriculture should be placed on an "economic equality" with other industry, and proposes the following methods:

1. Tariff protection for farm products affected by foreign competition.

2. Efforts to broaden the export market.

3. Creation of a Federal Farm Board to promote a farm marketing system, and farmer-owned and controlled stabilization corporations, to prevent and control surpluses through cooperative and orderly marketing.

4. Financial aid from the Federal Treasury, if necessary, to secure diversification of crops.

The Democratic platform also declares for

an economic equality of agriculture. The remedy for inequality must include, among other things:

1. Loans to cooperatives.
2. Reduction of spread between farm price and retail price through the action of Government agencies.
3. Consideration of agriculture in formulating fiscal policies.
4. Creation of a Federal Farm Board to assist the farmer in the marketing of his crops, presumably so that there may be "control and orderly handling of agricultural surpluses in order that the price of the surplus may not determine the price of the whole crop."

Neither platform endorses the equalization fee or the export bounty as a principle of relief. Both favor a Federal Farm Board to assist in a plan of controlling the surplus, partly by better marketing methods. The Republican Party would grant loans to farmers to help them diversify their crops; the Democratic Party would loan money to cooperatives. The Republicans would increase the tariff on certain agricultural imports; the Democrats call for a tariff "based on justice to all"—"wage earner, farmer, stockman, producer and legitimate business in general."

It is to be noted, however, that the Democratic platform specifically pledges the party to find a way of distributing "the cost of dealing with crop surplus over the market units of the crop where producers are benefited by such assistance."

Pronouncements of the Candidates—Mr. Hoover said in his speech of acceptance that the solution is:

1. "An adequate tariff is the foundation of farm relief."
2. High transportation costs can be reduced by the development of a system of inland waterways.
3. Endorsement of the platform pronouncement for a Federal Farm Board to build up "farmer-owned and farmer-controlled stabilization corporations which will protect the farmer from the depressions and demoralization of seasonal gluts and periodical surpluses."

Mr. Hoover also assumed that this plan would call for funds from the Federal Treasury as "initial capital with which to build up the farmer to the control of his own destinies."

In his speech at West Branch, Iowa, he made a distinction between the "traditional farm cooperatives or pools" and "a sound marketing organization." He also made it

clear that he was not in favor of a plan "to subsidize prices of farm products and pay the losses thereon either by the Federal Treasury or by a tax or fee on the farmer."

Mr. Smith, in his speech of acceptance,

1. Mentioned the essential character of "cooperative coordinated marketing and warehousing of surplus farm products."
2. Stated that "our platform points the way to make the tariff effective for crops of which we produce a surplus."
3. Believed that lowered transportation costs may come not only from inland waterways, but from good highways to "carry the short haul of small bulk commodities and to aid in effective marketing of farm products."

Last August the press carried the statement that Mr. Smith does not favor the equalization fee; in his speech at Omaha, he stated that he favored the principle of the McNary-Haugen bill and that the method of applying it could well be left to a commission of farm leaders and students of the problem.

WHAT DO THE FARMERS WANT?

The answer to this question must be more or less dogmatic, for unfortunately the representative farmers organizations have not as yet agreed upon a platform of their own. But it is fairly safe to say that they want:

1. Immediate relief from a situation in which the farm income in comparison with costs of farm requirements is short of a normal represented by the economic situation of other groups. There are two significant aspects to this question of immediate relief:

a. Both groups of farmers have accepted the permanence of the tariff principle, but their measures have virtually attacked its operation with respect to farm commodities for export; and would provide for a means of disposing of the exportable surplus at the world price, but releasing the surplus from competition in the domestic market. One group would assess a fee ostensibly upon producers to pay the loss—the equalization fee; the other group would by an export bounty make the Federal Treasury stand the loss by reason of lessened returns from the tariff.

b. In spite of the fact that Congress has twice passed a bill embodying the equalization fee, neither party specifically en-

dorses it, and one party pretty clearly repudiates it. Neither party endorses the export bounty.

Unquestionably the farmers will welcome aid for the establishment of their own organizations for orderly marketing and the handling of gluts, with the probable tendency toward stabilized prices. But it is doubtful if they regard that plan alone as sufficient to meet the situation. The challenge to the tariff as discriminating against the farmer is really a permanent challenge to protected urban interests.

2. Assistance in formulating a national agricultural policy and an appropriate program for validating the policy. This assistance is needed because government in one way or another must be a part of the machinery of rehabilitation—as in research, reform of taxation, and so on.

In the absence of a farm platform made by united agriculture, an inkling of rural opinion will be found in a series of questions appearing in an editorial in *Wallace's Farmer* (Des Moines, Iowa) of Aug. 3, 1928, and designed to be asked of Presidential candidates. This paper is among the ablest of the farm journals. It has been committed to the plan of the McNary-Haugen bill.

1. Land policy: Will you do your best to keep new land from coming into use at a time when agriculture is getting less than its fair share in the national income? Will you stand firmly against spending Government money for new irrigation projects during the next four years? Will you positively favor Government action in the way of purchasing poor land for reforestation and re-grassing?

2. Tariff: Will you favor lowering such tariffs on manufactured goods as will most effectively increase European purchasing power for our pork, wheat and cotton? Will you favor putting a tariff on hides and molasses and increasing the tariff on corn, hogs, eggs and cattle? Will you favor modifying the tariff in such a way as to restore as rapidly as possible a fair share in the national income to agriculture?

3. Attitude toward Department of Agriculture: Will you permit the Department of Agriculture to continue its study of agricultural marketing at home and abroad? Will you permit the Department of Agriculture to build up an adequate foreign service? Will you encourage the Department of Agriculture to study the outlook for supplies and prices of different farm products in such a way as to encourage farmers to organize in an endeavor to stabilize both supplies and prices?

4. Will you do all in your power to make it possible for family-sized farmers to obtain, through an enabling act of the Government,

but without subsidy, a centralized marketing power which will give them the equivalent of what the corporate form of organization gives to industry?

5. What plan do you propose to keep the surplus of our staple farm crops sold abroad from depressing the domestic price? On working out the plan, do you favor paying the operating expenses out of the Government Treasury or enabling the farmers to pay the expense themselves according to the degree of benefit?

HAVE THE FARMERS LOST THEIR POLITICAL POWER?

There are those who answer in the affirmative. The farmers, they say, are but 25 per cent. of the population and will soon be but 20 per cent. Many farmers unquestionably feel that they have been flouted by the present Administration, and that this would not have happened if it was believed they could retaliate. Other farmers question just as anxiously the probability that a city-born and city-enviored President will, in reality, stand for any policy in which there may be rural-urban antagonisms.

No one is wise enough to give the final answer to the query, for it depends upon two elements of strategy, both in the hands of the farmers:

1. Can the farmers unite on a legislative program?

It is impossible to assess fairly the blame for the fact that they have not thus far presented a united front—how much is due to the rivalries of organizations or of leaders, how much to regional diversities of interest and how much to fundamental differences of thought or of tradition. But the first element of power is at least a reasonable degree of unity.

2. How far are the farmers willing to go in voting only for those Congressmen who will stand by the farm platform?

It must not be assumed that the rural vote for President or for Senators is negligible. Quite the contrary. It is still possible for a united farm vote to decide a Presidential election, and to retain a destructive if not a constructive farm bloc in the Senate. But the political strength of the farmer is in the national House of Representatives, and it will be so as long as the present system of Congressional districts prevails. For in a very large proportion, if not in a majority of these districts, the farmers are numerous enough

to hold the balance of power, at least, and in many of them to dictate nominations and even elections. And this result can be achieved mostly without breaking existing party ties. It is merely a question whether the farmers can agree on what they want and abide by their agreement. This is not a simple matter, but it is not impossible.

It is not surprising that the National Industrial Conference Board said in its report on agriculture that "there are few problems more complex, more changing, more difficult to comprehend, more charged with political and social import, or calling for more careful, earnest and open-minded study by all our people." Or that the Business Men's Commission on Agriculture concludes after its investigation that the farm

problem "constitutes a challenge to modern statesmanship." Or that the representatives of all the agricultural colleges of the country should say that "agriculture in most parts of the country is still in an unsatisfactory condition." Or that Mr. Hoover said in his speech of acceptance that "the most urgent economic problem in our nation today is in agriculture." Or that Mr. Smith said that "the solution of this problem must be a prime and immediate concern of the Democratic Administration." Or that a group of farm women in the Middle West declared that "our homes are made desolate * * * we are depressed, but we shall never submit to peasantry * * * we shall fight for independence * * * regardless of party."

II—The McNary-Haugen Plan for Relief

By GEORGE N. PEEK

CHAIRMAN OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF TWENTY-TWO OF THE NORTH CENTRAL STATES AGRICULTURE CONFERENCE; FORMERLY CHAIRMAN OF THE INDUSTRIAL BOARD OF THE DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE

IN the revolution of ideas constantly in progress in the modern world the novelty of the American concept of agriculture in the economic system seems to have been strangely obscured. We are engaged today in a most interesting experiment. We are testing whether an independent agriculture, enjoying the advantages and benefits of life on a level comparable with that prevailing in our cities and towns, can be established and maintained.

Except on the North American Continent, the labor of farm production is nearly everywhere performed by a peasant class. Farming has tended to become a peasant occupation because rewards are so uncertain and frequently so low that they permanently attract only those who are content with harder work and lower living standards than the more resourceful and aggressive demand. The uncertainty is not only one of yields but of prices; the uncontrolled risks, such as weather and pests, are followed by other and often equally disastrous risks in the market.

The day of the self-contained farm, existing on its own production aided by a

little barter, is definitely past. So is the day when rising land values will compensate for unprofitable crop prices. The condition that has succeeded them is dangerously weakening our farm structure. The issue which the present experiment is to determine is whether our ideal of American agriculture, as distinguished from peasant agriculture, can endure.

The facts, figures and causes of our post-war agricultural depressions have too long been matters for discussion. The problem of rehabilitation of the farmer and finding a method of preventing a recurrence of agricultural depressions now compels attention and immediate action.

To any one really familiar with the present status of the farmer certain conclusions are inevitable. He has been producing food for the nation at prices which have been exhausting the accumulated resources of the generations which preceded him, because they have not yielded cost of production.

In the past few years the value of farm property in the United States has decreased about \$20,000,000,000, while farm debts have

been increased \$10,000,000,000. From 1909 to 1919 inclusive, agriculture received on the average 20 per cent. of the national income. From 1920 to 1925 agriculture received on an average only 10.5 per cent. of the total current income of the country, and since then this figure has dropped as low as 7.5 per cent. Yet 30 per cent. of our population lives on farms. In its real value (its purchasing power in exchange for other property, goods and services) farm lands in our most important farm States are worth 20 per cent. less today than they were in 1910, eighteen years ago.

These are evidences of a progressive draining away of wealth from the country to the city, which is inevitable as long as the products of the farm remain low in price compared with goods and services which the farmers must buy. Indeed, the average purchasing power of farm products in the past few years has been only 85 per cent. of what it was before the war. Our farm plant is contracting in comparison with our population and with other industries; our agricultural exports per capita have declined 28 per cent., and our agricultural imports per capita have increased 30 per cent. since 1900; returns on capital invested in agriculture are small compared with those of other investments. It seems to be well established that farming in America has been on the decline since about the opening of the present century, a date which, significantly enough, coincides roughly with the closing of the frontier, the disappearance of cheap lands and the intensive industrialization of the country. This trend was for a time hidden. Land values continued to rise, and what the farmer lost as a producer he made good as a speculator. The cumulative effects of the long-time decline of agriculture, however, asserted themselves in the post-war collapse of the industry.

Of the recent developments the National Bureau of Economic Research says: "The great agricultural depression of 1921 and 1922 was not due to the fall in general prices but to the fact that the prices of agricultural commodities fell more rapidly and to lower levels than did the prices of articles the farmers bought."

Another industry finding itself unable to return production costs would restrict out-

put and regulate its movement to market, until prices properly related themselves to costs of production. The major branches of farming, however, face this problem with the certainty that even if the acreage of the millions of individuals could be accurately regulated no power on earth, even so, could forecast what production would be.

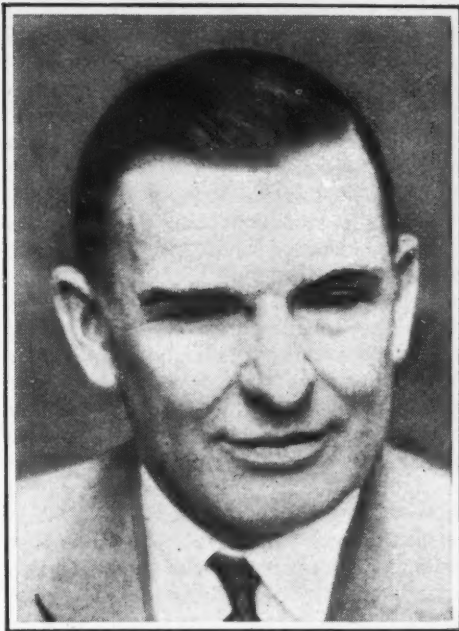
THE FARMERS' DIFFICULTIES

It must be kept in mind that the farm differs fundamentally from other productive enterprises. It is an expensive and immobile plant. In the case of field crops the productive process must start nearly or quite a year in advance of the harvests. With livestock, production must be planned and undertaken two or three years in advance of sales. It is the only industry which at the beginning of productive effort is unable to predict the result in terms of supply. If it were definitely known that a certain acreage would result in a certain production, there would be some hope in attempting accurate acreage adjustments.

Over 90 per cent. of the variation in total yield of Spring wheat from one year to another is due to weather and pests, and less than 10 per cent. is due to changes in acreage. On the average, about 75 per cent. of the variation in total yields for all crops is due to weather and other uncontrollable factors.

When a surplus agricultural production was necessary to repay foreign investors in the United States and to pay for our imports, our national policy of expanding agriculture upon an export basis worked admirably. When our greatest national test came, it was our surplus food production that fed the Allies and decided the issue of the World War. But the existence of these surpluses has certain consequences for the profitableness of an industry which is forced to pay for the things and services it buys on the special and artificially protected high scale of American prices.

In my reference to the American protective system I include not only the tariff, but such measures and devices as the Adamson law, restrictions of immigration, the Esch-Cummins law, and others of like purpose. These have all tended to protect, stabilize and hold immune from world influence, industry and labor and to make



GEORGE NELSON PEEK

effective the work of their organizations in holding up the prices of their commodities and services.

Agriculture, on the other hand, is still subject to world influences on export crops because the American price of these crops is not determined here by American conditions, but is determined in foreign markets by world conditions. We sell our surplus abroad in world competition, at a price controlled by world supply and demand and regulated by world conditions. Since the farmer must sell one bushel out of four abroad, it is obvious that no purchaser will offer more for a bushel of wheat than he need pay to get the fourth or surplus bushel. He need pay only what that bushel will bring on the world market, which accordingly becomes the price for the entire American crop. But while the wheat farmer, or the cotton, tobacco, corn, hog and usually the cattle grower is accepting the world price, he is paying an American price for all the goods and services that go to make his cost of production. It is against the inequality of benefit from the protective tariff that the farmer has been protesting. It was to correct this injustice

of national policy that the various McNary-Haugen bills were drafted and twice passed through Congress.

THE McNARY-HAUGEN PLAN

Two curious misconceptions prevail in uninformed minds concerning the nature of the McNary-Haugen plan. It is supposed to be immensely complicated, and it is believed to be some mysterious scheme for somehow transferring the farmer's burden to the taxpayer. As a matter of fact, it is neither unduly involved nor is it a subsidy.

The McNary-Haugen plan merely provides a mechanism which the producers of the primary surplus crops can use to regulate the movement of their crops to market, with the cost of withholding unneeded supplies, or of diverting small surpluses to export markets, assessed against all the producers of the commodity affected. If you withhold or skim off the surplus which for natural reasons cannot be controlled or prevented in the production stage, the demand can still be satisfied, but at a fair exchange value for the farmer. There is at present a tariff of 42 cents a bushel on wheat. For economic reasons already discussed, it is ineffective. Under the McNary-Haugen plan, this tariff on wheat would work. The farmer would get world price plus the amount of the tariff, paying the cost of the operation out of his own pocket. He could get no more, because the instant the price rose beyond that point, importation would begin. But that he should get such a price is simple justice obvious to any reasonable person not blinded by selfish prejudice or sectional greed.

The principle would work out in different ways with different crops. The growers of cotton could secure relative price stability through balancing supply and demand over a period of years instead of currently. They could secure for themselves whatever economic advantage there may be in their position as producers and exporters of two-thirds of the world's international trade in cotton. Growers of other crops, like wheat, of which the exportable surplus is relatively small compared with domestic consumption, could secure the advantage of tariffs in the domestic market.

To take a familiar example, America

raises about 800,000,000 bushels of wheat. Of this production we use at home about 650,000,000 bushels. The remaining 150,000,000 must be marketed abroad. If the world price is \$1 a bushel, then the farmer gets not merely \$1 on 150,000,000 bushels, but on 800,000,000 bushels. His total crop revenue is \$800,000,000, and the existence of a 42-cent tariff does not alter the case practically. But let us assume that the McNary-Haugen plan is operating, that the surplus is segregated in the market, and that the price rises to \$1.40 a bushel. The total revenue now would be \$1,120,000,000, an improvement of \$320,000,000. However, there would still remain the expense of administering the system and a stock of 150,000,000 bushels of wheat that would have to be sold abroad at \$1 a bushel, the assumed world price. It is plain that a loss would be suffered on this surplus wheat of 40 cents a bushel, or \$60,000,000 in all, plus costs of administration. Now the question arises where this money is to be found.

There are two possible sources. Either the Government may pay it or the farmers themselves may do so. As a matter of fact, the farmers have turned their backs on the idea of subsidy, of asking the Government for this money. They have proposed to assess the cost back on each unit of the benefited crop brought to market. There are a number of ways by which these general purposes can be attained. The precise mechanics which are adopted is not a matter of great moment. The important thing is to get the principle intact.

THE "EQUALIZATION FEE"

In the most recent drafts of the McNary-Haugen plan, this problem of supplying the financial motive power for the machinery was met by the much discussed "equalization fee."

To continue the example already selected, a charge would be placed against each bushel of wheat brought to market at the most convenient point of collection. In practice, it would probably be collected from the elevator man. To arrive at this charge, costs and losses would be spread out over the whole crop. A total loss of \$60,000,000 on 800,000,000 bushels means that each bushel is liable for 7½ cents. A fee of 8 cents a bushel would be ample to cover all

possible costs and losses of the operation. The elevator man, therefore, being subject to a charge of 8 cents a bushel, would be able to bid, not the full \$1.40, but only \$1.32. The farmer would thus get \$1.32 for his wheat, instead of only \$1, and his crop would be worth \$1,056,000,000 instead of \$800,000,000, a net gain of \$256,000,000.

When the objections to this method of giving the farmer tariff equality are examined in the light of all the facts, it is seen that they fall into one of two classes. Either they are not real objections at all or they do not run against any vital principle of the plan. Opponents of the movement have made much use of adjectives and epithets to condemn it without entering into a discussion of the economic principles involved. "Economically unsound," "price fixing," "unworkable," "socialistic," "class legislation" and other inspired phrases have found reception places in the minds of many well-meaning people. They are not intellectual arguments and appeal only to prejudice. The people who utter them will do well to stop and reflect. A decaying agriculture is a sure sign of a decadent nation.

I confess I do not know just what is meant by the term "economically unsound." We are discussing laws of trade as distinguished from laws of production, and it is our purpose to extend the laws of trade as applied to agriculture. All trade laws are man-made, and if the proposal of the farmers under discussion is economically unsound, then so are many laws of trade which permit holding by an industry of supply and releasing it to demand at will.

As one eminent economist has said, the scheme is not a price-fixing one, because it merely creates an addition to a moving world price. If it is "socialistic" and "class legislation," it must be borne in mind that it is merely a demand of the farmers for relief from the effect of special legislation already enacted by Congress in the interest of other groups.

Only a few of the objections which have been raised are worthy of consideration or can be considered here. Two arguments are frequently heard against effective action along this line for agriculture; first, that it would raise the cost of living; second, that it would stimulate production, thus aggravating the difficulty.

Since farm legislation was first discussed, the threat of higher living costs has been held before the eyes of consumers like a scarecrow. Much talk of this is sheer propaganda, which vanishes when the light of facts is thrown upon it.

How about the interests of the farmer who wants a fair price for his wheat, and the housewife who wants cheap bread? Do they clash seriously? What are the facts?

On Page 764 of the Department of Agriculture Year Book for 1925, Table 28 sets forth the estimated price per bushel of wheat received by producers in the United States each month. On Page 775, Table 41 gives the monthly average retail price of bread per pound in the City of New York.

WHEAT VS. BREAD PRICES

On Aug. 15, 1923, the average farm price for wheat in the United States was 86.4 cents per bushel—the lowest price paid in 1922, 1923, 1924 or 1925. On that same day the average price of bread at retail in New York City was 9.6 cents per pound. Eighteen months later wheat sold on Feb. 15, 1925, at an average farm price to the producer of \$1.698—practically \$1.70 per bushel. This was almost double the price of wheat on Aug. 15, 1923 (86.4 cents). Yet on the same day (Feb. 15, 1925) the price of bread at retail in New York City averaged 9.6 cents per pound, or exactly the same as before.

During 1922 the New York bread price averaged 9.5 cents per pound; in 1923, 9.16 cents; in 1924, 9.5, and in 1925, 9.16 cents. Bear in mind that during those years wheat had a range of practically 100 per cent. in price, but the only way the consumer in New York knew about it was to read of it in the papers.

On Page 127 of the Year Book of the Department of Agriculture for 1923 is a significant chart showing the share which the wheat grower received out of the retail price of a pound loaf of bread in 1913 and 1923. In 1913 the wheat grower received 21.41 per cent. of the consumer's price. In 1923 the wheat grower received only 16.37 per cent. The toll of the retailer for merely selling the loaf of bread amounted to nearly 50 per cent. more than the wheat grower received for the wheat that went into the bread. The grower of the wheat got 16.37

per cent.; the baker received more than twice as much, or 35.93 per cent., and the retailer of the bread 22.22 per cent.

The farmer in 1923, when this chart was compiled, got only 16 1-3 cents out of the dollar the consumer pays for bread. In other words, if the average practicable increase under surplus control legislation is 25 per cent. in the wheat farmer's price, the addition to the cost of a loaf of bread would be but 4 per cent.—a third of a cent on a 10-cent loaf.

Cotton on the farms of the South dropped to less than 10 cents a pound in 1926, from 23 cents in 1925, after which it returned to 20 cents. The low price spread ruin through the South, but how much cheaper could the housewife buy sheeting or calico when cotton was 10 cents than when it was 20?

As with wheat and bread, the cotton grower gets less than one-fifth of the price of the finished article the housewife buys. The gingham or the calico or percale would not be greatly cheaper to the consumer if the farmer gave his crop away.

Of the economic arguments against any concerted move toward agricultural protection and stabilization, perhaps the most widely entertained is the fear that any move on the part of the Federal Government to stabilize and protect agricultural markets must be necessarily followed by increased production. There is much to be said against this view.

Low prices frequently force the farmer toward increased production in order to meet inflexibly high prices, as was pointed out by Dr. E. G. Nourse of the Institute of Economics when he said in his paper before the American Farm Economic Association: "With prices per unit low and fixed obligations high, the utmost effort must be expended toward securing a large output." That is why low and unprofitable prices do not always result in decreased acreage. Usually a low price results only in a shift of acreage from the affected crop to another temporarily more fortunate, thus merely moving the area of distress.

Furthermore, we must not lose sight of the fact that this scheme would not change the relative profitableness of the various crops within the farming industry. It would raise the general level of the industry as a whole. There is no reason to believe that

the present balance of the structure would be substantially altered. It is also a fact that relative profitableness of a given crop is far from being the only factor controlling the acreage of that crop, and acreage, as we have seen above, accounts for only 25 per cent. of the variations in the total yield.

When the eight-hour labor day was more or less generally adopted in industry, with extra pay for overtime, it was quite freely predicted that labor would loaf on the job during regular hours in order to secure the overtime work and rates of pay. No one will say it has worked out that way. Generally labor has been content with a reasonable day's work and pay, and has used its extra hours for some of the comforts, culture and even luxuries of life that go to make up our American standard of living.

Agriculture will do the same. Farmers will hire more labor, and lighten the burdens of wives and children. They will improve their farms and equipment, and so will furnish a market so much needed at this time for the products of industry.

It should not be overlooked that industrial labor is operating on a level of wages approximately 230 per cent. of the pre-war level; agriculture on a level of about 140 per cent. Production largely is the result of human effort, and before our people are attracted in large numbers to the farms agriculture will have to be on a far more remunerative basis than it has been for the past seven or eight years.

But I do not feel that it is necessary for proponents of an effective program for agriculture to content themselves with mere negation when considering this objection of overproduction. I believe the plan embodied in the legislation that passed both houses of the Sixty-ninth and Seventieth Congresses contained the principles necessary to secure the proper response from farmers as a whole in the economic adjustment of production. This plan requires that every individual who contributes to the volume of certain staple crops that move in commerce must also contribute to the fund that makes possible the proper handling of "time" and "place" surpluses. This provision takes care of the variation in production due to yield over which man has no

control. Should increased production result, farmers alone would bear the burden of it. Each crop dealt with was to stand on its own feet and pay equitably for the cost of dealing with its own surplus. In addition an organization was proposed that would guide farmers in the adjustment of acreage in order to secure the maximum advantages under the proposed act.

I see no reason to fear that farmers would not follow the Federal Farm Board and consolidate their advantages if they were given a mechanism which would operate to their benefit in the control and disposition of crop surpluses.

These two objections which I have just discussed, one based on fear of an increased cost of living and the other on fear of an increased farm production, are frequently heard. Obviously both cannot be sound, yet both are commonly advanced by the same person and almost in the same breath. And if we admit either one as a valid argument, we confess that there is no solution short of tearing down industry and labor to agriculture's low level. It means that farm prices must continue to be low compared with other prices. This denial to the farmer of his production cost plus a small profit means that we insist that his present position of disadvantage must be made permanent, in order to keep industry satisfied.

In the midst of such wealth as no other country has ever possessed, one-third of our people are witnessing the transfer of their savings and capital into the hands of other economic groups. This impoverishment of agriculture, our basic industry, must go down in American history as a dark blot upon our own statesmanship.

Without further delay we should, through legislation, make it possible for agriculture to attain economic equality with industry and labor in the domestic market, and then in the future let all these groups make adjustments together to meet changing conditions whenever it seems necessary to do so as a matter of national policy.

I repeat, the sound program for America should aim toward the development of a well-balanced national life, one which will not stimulate any one form of productive effort at the expense of other equally essential producers.

III—Endorsement of the Hoover Plan For Efficient Cooperation

By B. F. YOAKUM

FORMER HEAD OF THE "FRISCO" AND "ROCK ISLAND" RAILWAYS; CHAIRMAN OF THE
EMPIRE BOND AND MORTGAGE CORPORATION, NEW YORK

AS to the distressing conditions in the farming regions I thoroughly agree with Mr. Peek. They are even more serious than he pictures. As to the remedy which he and his group of so-called "farm leaders" advocate, I strongly disagree.

The McNary-Haugen bill is a doubtful and dangerous experiment which could end only in disappointment and disaster. Reading Mr. Peek's description, it seems so simple and innocent—merely a "mechanism" which farmers can use to regulate the flow of their crops to market, and assess against the producers the cost of withholding or exporting surpluses.

As a matter of fact, it would create the most powerful political and commercial machine ever devised in this country, endowed with such power and financial resources as were never granted any other board in time of peace. It would make twelve men, not one of whom need be a farmer or directly concerned with farming, the overlords of agriculture with \$400,000,000 at their command, and authority to levy upon every unit of farm products an unlimited tax in the shape of an "equalization fee."

Furthermore, their authority would be supreme. No other department or agency of the Government could question their action or limit their levy of taxes or expenditure of funds. Whatever they assessed, the farmer would have to pay. He would have no voice in the matter, except through the feeble advice of the commodity advisory councils appointed by the parent board, and in effect its creatures. Was ever a more undemocratic and arbitrary scheme devised?

Whatever the mechanism used, direct or through cooperatives, it would inevitably put the Federal Government into the business of marketing, with all the evils of Federal price-fixing, its funds and loans subject to the fluctuations and hazards of the market. If there were losses, the Gov-

ernment would lose. It would come out of the pockets of the taxpayers. If the costs of "equalization" did not equal the estimates and the fees assessed, would the difference—what in commercial usage would be the profit—go back to the farmers who paid it? Not at all. It would go into a revolving fund and might be used for a commodity entirely remote from that of the men who paid it.

To be collected from the buyer or handler, as is proposed, this fee must be estimated and assessed in advance. What board or individual is wise enough in an open market to tell weeks or months in advance what prices will be when the shrewdest speculator cannot tell from hour to hour? Fluctuations cannot be avoided entirely, but they can be minimized and prices stabilized by controlling the major portion of a crop, and marketing it through one central commodity marketing board. But that can be done only by a nation-wide marketing system functioning at all times in regulating domestic supply as well as foreign exports, something which the McNary-Haugen bill does not provide.

The McNary-Haugen bill is based on a false theory—that agriculture is one, when it is really nearly a hundred different industries, each a business in itself, many of these incapable, as Mr. Hoover says, of the same organization. Cotton and corn cannot be handled alike. Their markets and problems are entirely different. The citrus fruit grower of Florida has little in common with the wheat grower of Kansas. Each product must be handled in its own way, in the manner best adapted to it, through agencies that understand its needs. Each should, therefore, be organized as a separate commercial unit, in control of its producers, operated through a central marketing board selected by them, composed of men familiar with and able to deal with its problems day by day as they arise.

No Government board could do that. No twelve men living would be able to cope with all farm commodities. The field is too wide, the problems are too varied. Any Federal board that is created should be advisory and supervisory, not, like the McNary-Haugen board, dictatorial and compulsory.

There are certain general principles that can be applied to the entire field of farm marketing, founded on solid commercial practices, the same that are used with success in other industries. The Government can render a great and invaluable service by aiding the farmers in establishing such a marketing system, enacting a general marketing law under which all farm commodities could operate, with sufficient latitude so that each could meet its own peculiar requirements. These systems, in fact, cannot be established without Federal aid, for the farmers not only need Federal authority to enable them to control their marketing, but they need financial aid in organizing and getting started.

But they require no such huge appropriations or sweeping powers reposed in a single board as are provided by the McNary-Haugen bill. That measure, framed ostensibly in the interest of the farmer, would in the end mean nothing but serfdom. It would rob him of his commercial freedom. A Federal board would take charge of his business, controlling his sole source of income. He would have no direct voice in its selection, no control over its operations or decisions. The board would be purely appointive, and need not have one farmer on it. No matter how conscientiously appointments are made, such boards are essentially political in character, and would inevitably put the whole matter into politics and keep it there.

NEED OF NATION-WIDE MARKETING SYSTEM

The Federal board Mr. Hoover plans to create is, as I understand it, of an entirely different character. Its function would not be to fix prices or enter into marketing operations, but to enlist the best thought of America and the resources of the Government in advising and aiding the farmers in establishing marketing organizations of their own, under control and operation of

the producers themselves. That seems to me an entirely practical and laudable purpose, and one that can be carried into effect with great benefit to the farmers themselves and the entire country.

Many years' study of this question has convinced me that there are certain essential principles that must be observed in establishing any marketing system that will be profitable and enduring:

First, it must be founded on solid business principles, not dependent, after its establishment, on Government aid or endless Federal appropriations;

Second, it must be not only profitable to the farmer but self-sustaining, able to stand on its own bottom and conduct its affairs without outside aid or interference;

Third, it must be nation-wide or sufficiently extensive to cover the larger part of each crop. Local or State cooperatives cannot affect the market or accomplish what must be done. A combination or federation of cooperatives, all in a commodity acting through one central marketing board, is essential;

Fourth, it must be farmer-owned, farmer-controlled and farmer-operated. There is no need of the Government's taking control of the farmers' affairs and the only way in which he can get added income. My observation and acquaintance convince me that the farmers of America are as capable of conducting their own business as is any other class in this country, and they will do so if given an opportunity;

Fifth, each standard farm commodity must be organized as a separate commercial unit, under control of its own producers, each a distinct entity, not responsible to or dependent upon any other commodity, and each to bear its own expenses without cost to any other product;

Sixth, to promote orderly marketing and regulate supply so as to prevent scarcity in some markets and oversupply in others, these boards should be given authority to establish grades and classifications and to direct interstate and foreign shipments of their respective commodities;

Seventh, they should be empowered to receive or retain from products sold or marketed under their supervision a sufficient amount to cover the costs of market-

ing and financing, all surpluses over such costs to be distributed to or accrue to the producers.

By this means prices could be stabilized so as to minimize, if not prevent, the wide and often needless fluctuations that are so disastrous. Surpluses as well as normal demand, domestic as well as foreign shipments, could be handled more effectively than is now possible, and farm products at fairly stable prices would form a solid basis of credit upon which banks could advance 75 per cent. or more of their market value.

Under such circumstances, funds in large amounts would be readily available, and the farmers could finance their marketing operations on their own credit and values. Each commodity could do its own "equalizing" in the regular course of business, without any Government "fees" or taxes, or any army of Federal spies or agents roving over the country, probing into the farmers' business, invading elevators and warehouses and subjecting farmers and business men to all the nuisance, terrorism and red tape that go with Governmental interference and control.

TOO MUCH PAID TO FOOD DEALERS

Larger returns can be obtained for the farmer without increasing prices to consumers by reducing the cost of marketing. Out of every \$3 finally paid for his products, the farmer now gets but \$1. For seventeen standard food products Americans pay annually \$22,500,000,000. Of this the farmers receive only \$7,500,000,000. All the rest, \$15,000,000,000, goes for distribution, processing and selling.

Plainly enough, we are paying too much for this service. At present the farmer has no voice in determining the prices of his products, which are sold five or six times over, with profits or commissions each time, piling up the cost to the consumers without any added return to the producer.

This custom has grown until there are now, it is estimated, 19,000,000 "food dealer population" living off the farmers and getting twice as much for selling and processing this food as the farmer does for producing it. Billions of dollars could be added to the farmers' income by giving him a larger share of what consumers pay, without

depriving dealers of a just and reasonable profit.

Temporary surpluses can hardly be prevented and can be handled by withholding or selling abroad; but continuous overproduction brings its inevitable penalty. Governmental warnings are unheeded. Despite official cautions potato growers this year planted nearly 350,000 more acres; the market is flooded with potatoes, prices have hit bottom, and the growers will probably get \$100,000,000 less than they would for a smaller crop. I have seen Long Island growers selling potatoes for \$1 a barrel that cost them \$4 to raise.

Insurance against price declines, such as the McNary-Haugen bill proposes, would inevitably result in huge and continuous surpluses which would be increasingly difficult, if not impossible, to handle. The remedy would be worse than the disease. Under-consumption and faulty methods of marketing are often as potent in price declines as is overproduction.

The real basis of farm land values, as Dean Russell of the University of Wisconsin pointed out in his address to the American Bankers' Association, is stabilized earning capacity. So long as farm products—wheat, corn, potatoes and others—are selling below the cost of production, as they are now, prosperity cannot be restored to the farming regions. The farmer must receive a living price for his crops, and the only way he can get it is by controlling the sale of his products as other industries do.

The great need of the farmer is not a Federal board to control his business, or huge Federal appropriations to be fed to him continually, but a law and assistance which will enable him to establish a nation-wide marketing system under which he can market his products efficiently and have some say as to the prices at which they shall be sold, as every other big industry has. Given Federal authority in establishing such a system, the farmers of this country can and will work out their own salvation.

This is the practical, business-like way, the only way in which it can be done. It is democratic, it is American, and is as far from McNary-Haugenism as day is from night.

Portes Gil, Provisional President-Elect of Mexico

By ERNEST GRUENING

EDITOR, *Portland Evening News*; AUTHOR OF *Mexico and Its Heritage*

THE most striking fact about the election to the Provisional Presidency of Mexico of Emilio Portes Gil is that it comes close to being the reward of merit. When one considers all the available candidates and the various reasons, political or other, which operated to eliminate not only individuals but whole categories of available and surely willing Presidential timber the conclusion forced upon one who is familiar with the Mexican *dramatis personae* is that the Mexican Congress made what in advance appears like a good choice. Whether it proves to be up to expectations only time can reveal.

Consider the situation. Tradition and habit, following the cataclysmic removal of the great chieftain, Alvaro Obregón, called for a military man. Both Obregón and Calles were "Generals of Division"—the highest rank in the Mexican army—long before either became President. The majority of Mexican Presidents have been Generals, and even those who have been civilians—Juárez, Madero, Carranza—were the leaders of causes which depended on military victory for their ultimate success and the establishment of their civilian leaders in power.

Moreover, the military element has remained powerful throughout the revolution—it was able in the de la Huerta rebellion almost to upset the Government, indeed, would have done so but for the aid given Obregón by the Coolidge Administration. Militarism was again menacing during the last year when Generals Serrano and Gómez headed an abortive revolt which developed out of a Presidential campaign in which three Generals of Division were the only candidates. Throughout the revolution virtually every General in Mexico had either considered himself a Presidential possibility or expected to have a definite voice in the naming of a brother General. In the recent sparring for the Provisional Presidency a General of Division, Manuel Pérez

Treviño for a time appeared to have the advantage. It is true that he was something more than a military man; nevertheless he was the representative of the tradition of army rule. But his star waned and that of Portes Gil, lawyer, civilian—the most civilian figure since Madero—became ascendant.

What was the basis for his selection? His civilian record, primarily in the Governorship of a State. His earlier career in the Sonora judiciary, and as Advocate General in the Ministry of War is relatively unimportant. He was a "regular," that is to say a "regular" among the Revolutionists, who by instinct and good sense each time elected to be with that group which emerged victorious in the intra-Revolutionary squabbles, and attained the leadership of the nation. He was an Obregonista in the schism with Carranza, a member of the Liberal Constitutionalist Party which rallied around the Sonora group. When that party's purpose had been achieved he drifted into the new political alignment, the Cooperative Party—not precisely a group of idealists. He became one of its leaders. But when this party became the creature of de la Huerta and abetted his revolt, Portes Gil was one of the first to break away and in the subsequent treason and rebellion to stand firmly by the Administration.

It was the Governorship of Tamaulipas that gave him his real opportunity to show his qualifications. It should be remembered that under the Spanish political heritage which still dominates Mexico, public office is viewed largely as an opportunity for personal advantage rather than for service. Thus Governors who are devoted to the public good, who leave more than they found, who build for the common welfare, are still relatively rare. It is the writer's opinion, based on a considerable acquaintance with Mexican State executives, that among the twenty-eight Governors whose terms broadly coincided with that of the Calles Administration—that is, who took

office in 1924 or 1925, Portes Gil was one of three who stood out as conscientious executives and left behind them permanent constructive achievement.

RECORD AS STATE GOVERNOR

The two most important tasks that fell to a State Governor in that period were agrarian reform and education. In both of these Tamaulipas ranks high. In the complicated and thorny matter of dividing up the great estates, and restoring to the peons their communal land or other land, for their joint cultivation, Tamaulipas ranks, if not first, then second to but one other State, Hidalgo. In general, the execution of the vast program of land reform which reached its greatest efficiency under the Presidency of Calles, had been the cause of much dissatisfaction. Even the supposed beneficiaries, the landless natives, were in many States bamboozled so long and cheated so often that disappointment and bitterness were often the only harvest

of their deep-seated longings. As for the *hacendados*—they were always outraged by what they deemed and called "robbery," which was so complicated by dishonesty and favoritism as to justify harsh denunciation. In one or two localities, however, such was not the case. One of these was the State of Tamaulipas. There the agrarian "reparations" were done with a maximum of scrupulousness, with due care for the concomitant problem of maintaining production, with a proper consideration of the hardships worked on all affected in every given case. Tamaulipas *hacendados* who deemed themselves the victims of the land reform movement have assured me that they considered that the law and not executive arbitrariness had governed the proceedings in their State, and that they had no complaint to offer. Apparently Portes Gil played no favorites. I have it on excellent authority that three-quarters of the hacienda belonging to the Sáenz family was taken for the benefit of the peons. Con-



Associated Press

Elias Calles, retiring Mexican President, with his successor, Emilio Portes Gil, who is to take office as Provisional President on Dec. 1

sidering that Aarón Sáenz was a member of the Obregón and Calles cabinets and is now the most conspicuous candidate for the six-year term beginning in 1929, we may judge that the agrarian reform of Portes Gil knew neither fear nor friendship.

In the matter of education, Mexican State Governments fall into three groups: Those shameless Administrations which pilfer the State revenues, not even hesitating to rob the coming generations of their right to schooling; those which, while less crass, make no great effort to promote education, to found new schools and improve existing ones; and finally those under which education leaps ahead. In the last group definitely belongs Tamaulipas. It is true that the Governor during Obregón's term, César López de Lara, though a rebel under de la Huerta, had made an excellent start in the matter of elementary schooling, but Portes Gil built on the work of his predecessor both in the matter of elementary schools and in night schools for adults.

So much is in the record. To it may be added that under Portes Gil's Administration the State was notably peaceful and free from scandal, remembering always that Tampico, centre of the oil industry where much happens that should not happen, lies in one corner of the State. Nevertheless, the broad fact emerges that Portes Gil is a civilized, gentlemanly figure, a man of education but of democratic sympathies, who carried through the principles for which he was, as a Revolutionist, supposed to stand, yet aroused no enmities of importance. The net result may be summed up in the words "quiet efficiency." It was

on the strength of his Gubernatorial record that he was asked by President Calles to become Secretary of Gobernación [Minister of the Interior], the most important post in the Cabinet. His service there gives him an intimacy with the conduct of national affairs which amplifies his earlier experience in the House of Deputies.

In anticipating what he may do in office, it should be borne in mind that the Provisional President is essentially a stop-gap. He will be in power only a year. It may be assumed that he will take no rash steps, that he will maintain the policies of Calles, who could have continued himself in office had he desired, and that the thirty-seven-year-old lawyer will be guided by his present chief and far more experienced man of affairs. It may therefore be taken for granted that land reform and the promotion of public school education will be pushed forward; that the policy of friendliness with the United States made possible by the coming to Mexico of Dwight Morrow will be continued; and that the Administration will "stand pat" in its anti-clerical position that the clergy obey the law requiring registration as a preliminary to permitting them to resume their sacerdotal functions.

Nevertheless, the President of Mexico—even a Provisional President—has vast power. His appointments by themselves are of great importance. And here the record of the last three years gives hope that Portes Gil will be less the *político* of the Cooperatist Party days, than the public servant who as Chief Executive of an important State gave it an administration well above the average.



A Review of Our Policy in Nicaragua

By CHARLES W. HACKETT

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A SURVEY of the relations of the United States with Nicaragua during the last two decades reveals a kaleidoscope of inconsistencies and blunders. It is not charged that this was necessarily intentional or deliberate. Nevertheless, the United States Government has repeatedly blundered from one untenable position with respect to Nicaragua into another—thereby placing itself on the defensive both at home and abroad—until finally conditions in Nicaragua came to such a pass that the Stimson Mission of 1927 was a necessity. The sending of that mission may be characterized as an honest and commendable effort of the President and the Secretary of State, as well as possible, through Colonel Stimson, to extricate the United States Government from the embarrassments resulting from its past relations with Nicaragua.

To be more specific: In 1907 President Roosevelt induced the five Central American Governments to agree (in Article II of the Additional Treaty of Dec. 20, 1907) that none of them would "in case of civil war intervene in favor of or against the Government of the country where the struggle takes place." While encouraging the principle of non-intervention among the Central American nations, the United States Government apparently reserved the right of intervention for itself. For in 1909-1910, in the words of Chairman Borah of the present Senate Foreign Relations Committee, the United States Government "endorsed the revolutionists" who were at that time operating against the recognized Constitutional Government of Nicaragua and "excited the people to overthrow it."

The Conservative Government that was thereupon set up in place of the Liberal one that was overthrown was, according to the contemporary report of the commanding officer of our marines in Nicaragua, "not in power by the will of the people." Nevertheless, the minority Conservative régime thus

established remained in power, through the protection afforded by the United States marines, until Jan. 1, 1925. Such action, in imposing a minority government on a helpless people, was in violation of the idealism expressed with specific reference to Latin America by Secretary of State Root when he said: "We consider that the independence and equal rights of the smallest and weakest members of the family of nations deserve as much respect as those of the great empires," and also the idealism expressed by President Wilson when he said that "every people should be left free to determine its own policy, unhindered, unthreatened, unafraid, the little along with the great and powerful."

Also in 1907 the United States Government induced the Central American Governments to agree (in Article I of the Additional Treaty of Dec. 20, 1907) that none of them would recognize any other Government which might "come into power in any of the five republics as a consequence of a *coup d'état*, or of a revolution against the recognized Government, so long as the freely elected representatives of the people thereof have not constitutionally reorganized the country." Three years later the Estrada Government, which had come into power through a revolution "aided and abetted" by the United States Consul at Bluefields, was recognized by the United States Government (Jan. 1, 1911) before the freely elected representatives of the people of Nicaragua had constitutionally reorganized their country. Thus the United States Government violated the very principle of non-recognition to which it had induced the Central American Governments to subscribe three years earlier.

In 1916 the Bryan-Chamorro Treaty was negotiated. By it Nicaragua, in return for a paltry but much-needed sum of \$3,000,000, gave to the United States "in perpetuity * * * the exclusive proprietary rights nec-

essary and convenient for the construction, operation and maintenance of an inter-oceanic canal." With respect to that treaty, four serious questions arise, to quote from Elihu Root, "not about the desirableness of the treaty, but about the way" in which it was made.

In the first place, in entering into that treaty the United States Government, instead of practicing its teachings by endorsing and upholding constitutional procedure, encouraged Nicaragua to violate a provision of its own Constitution which prohibits the negotiation of treaties which in any way impair the territorial integrity or the national sovereignty of the country.

In the second place, the treaty was negotiated with a puppet Government. On that point Elihu Root expressed the opinion, based on official records, that the Nicaraguan Government at that time did not represent "more than a quarter of the people of the country," and was maintained "in power by virtue of the force applied by the United States."

In the third place, the United States Government entered into the treaty with the full knowledge that a provision of the Cañas-Jérez Treaty of 1858 between Costa Rica and Nicaragua inhibited the latter country from signing any such treaty as the Bryan-Chamorro Treaty. A decision to that effect had even been handed down in 1888 by President Cleveland in arbitrating a dispute concerning the Cañas-Jérez Treaty. In that decision President Cleveland said that

Nicaragua remains bound not to make any grants for canal purposes across her territory without first asking the opinion of Costa Rica.

Furthermore, in case the construction of a canal by Nicaragua should involve injury to the natural rights of Costa Rica, as, for example, in the San Juan River, which is part of the international boundary between the two countries, President Cleveland held that in such cases Costa Rica's consent was "necessary." The United States Government knew from the outset that Nicaragua never attempted to secure the consent of Costa Rica nor even consulted her before signing the Bryan-Chamorro Treaty.

Finally, and in the fourth place, in sign-

ing the Bryan-Chamorro Treaty the United States Government ignored the diplomatic protests of Costa Rica and Salvador to the effect that Nicaragua was incompetent to sign the treaty because of the violation of their rights. Subsequently these protests were upheld in formal decisions of the Court, but they were ignored by Nicaragua, who was sustained by the United States in flouting the formal decision of the Court. Such action resulted in the dissolution of the Court, which under the guiding influence of Elihu Root had been established in 1908 to settle all disputes that might arise between the Central American States.

In his message to Congress of Jan. 10, 1927, President Coolidge said that one of the three reasons for our recent intervention in Nicaragua was to protect the rights of the United States acquired by the Bryan-Chamorro Treaty. Can such rights be held valid, however, when they were acquired in contravention of an earlier sacred treaty, an arbitral ruling of a President of the United States, and a decision of an international tribunal of justice? Cannot even the propriety be questioned of sending marines to protect rights acquired in such a manner? Instead of defending it by armed force, would it not be appropriate for the United States to abrogate the treaty—charging the \$3,000,000 invested in it to the same fund as the \$25,000,000 paid to Colombia a few years ago—and then negotiate a new treaty by legal methods that would offend neither the majority of Nicaragua's citizens nor its neighbors? Nothing short of such action will ever fully atone for the unfortunate moral effect of the Bryan-Chamorra Treaty.

A SERIES OF INCONSISTENCIES

Turning to the latest intervention of the United States in Nicaragua, the writer feels that it came in large measure as the result of inconsistent actions of the Department of State—actions which were condoned, but with ever-increasing embarrassments, until the Stimson agreements provided a solution. To be more specific, after 1913, when President Wilson refused to recognize the Mexican usurper Huerta, the United States Government had frowned on illegally constituted governments in Latin America. It

went even further in 1924 than merely frowning on governments; it gave material and moral aid in support of the recognized constitutional government of Obregón in Mexico. Furthermore, one of the heralded accomplishments of the second Central American Conference at Washington in 1922-1923 was the drafting and subsequent ratification of a treaty of peace and amity. The object of this treaty, to quote from Secretary Kellogg, was "to promote constitutional government and orderly procedure in Central America," through those Governments agreeing "upon a joint course of action with regard to the non-recognition of governments coming into office through *coup d'état* or revolution." As late as Jan. 22, 1926, Secretary Kellogg stated that the United States had "adopted the principles of that treaty as its policy in the future recognition of Central American Governments." That the United States Government failed to uphold, or even recognize, constitutional government early in 1926 and late the same year recognized an unconstitutional one—specifically, the present Government headed by Adolfo Díaz—is shown by the following facts:

As the result of "fair and full" elections a Coalition Government headed by a moderate Conservative, Solorzano, as President, and a Liberal Vice President, Sacasa, was installed at Nicaragua on Jan. 1, 1925; promptly thereafter it was recognized by the Department of State and by the other Central American Governments.

Late in 1925, following a successful *coup d'état*, General Chamorro illegally reorganized the Nicaraguan Congress. This unconstitutional Congress on Jan. 12, 1926, decreed the deposition and exile of the recognized Constitutional Vice President Sacasa, and elected Chamorro as first designate (an office equivalent to Second Vice President). Two days later the resignation of the Constitutional President Solorzano was received. The deposition of Sacasa—an illegal act because of the illegal character of the Congress which decreed it—and the resignation of Solorzano cleared the way for the assumption of executive powers by the dictator Chamorro on Jan. 16. When, on March 14, the resignation of Solorzano was tardily accepted, there was and still is in theory between Vice President Sacasa and

the Nicaraguan Presidency, only the illegal decree of an illegally constituted Congress.

The United States Government, through its failure to insist upon the constitutional succession of Sacasa, let pass a golden opportunity "to promote constitutional government and orderly procedure in Nicaragua," and thereby paved the way for the unfortunate events which followed. Sacasa, it is admitted, was physically absent from the country, but, since he was absent "by reason of continuing force" and "continuing fraud," he was, in equity, never absent at all. Refusal to recognize the constitutional right of succession of Sacasa was tantamount to the Department of State's recognizing as legal his deposition by an illegal Congress. It constituted also a reversal of the policy pursued toward Mexico in 1924.

OUR RECOGNITION OF DIAZ

The United States Government contented itself with merely denying recognition to Chamorro, thereby insuring the non-recognition of his usurping government by the neighboring Central American republics. Finally, late in 1926, after Chamorro had resigned, an opportunity was given for the Nicaraguan Congress again to be legally constituted on Nov. 10. By this Congress Adolfo Díaz, in place of Chamorro, was elected first designate, and on Nov. 14, as such, he assumed executive powers. In his message of Jan. 10, 1927, President Coolidge declared that the acts of the re-constituted Congress may be considered legal, hence, he argues, the constitutionality of Díaz's Government. The writer believes, however, even in case the Congress which elected Díaz was legally constituted, it was incompetent to elect any one as the successor to a recognized constitutional Vice President who had only been illegally deprived of his office by an illegally constituted Congress. Certainly, when Sacasa landed on the Nicaraguan coast on Dec. 1, 1926, he rightfully claimed that he was the constitutional President of Nicaragua. Nevertheless, Díaz was accorded recognition by the United States Government one week after his assumption of powers.

Aside from the above opinion concerning the constitutionality of the succession of Díaz to the Presidency, he is ineligible on still another count. Article II of the gen-

eral Central American treaty of 1923, which was inspired by Secretary Hughes, prohibits the recognition of any person as President who had been a "leader or one of the leaders of a [successful] *coup d'état* or revolution." On the basis of evidence laid before the United States Senate on Jan. 13, 1927, Chairman Borah of the Foreign Relations Committee affirmed that Díaz was "as much a part of that *coup d'état* as Chamorro," hence was equally as ineligible for succession to the Presidency as the latter had been held to be by the United States Government.

LANDING OF AMERICAN MARINES

The election of Díaz inspired the outraged Liberal revolutionists to renewed efforts, and these in turn inspired Díaz repeatedly to solicit the support of the United States. Finally, on Dec. 23, 1926, American marines were landed for the avowed purpose "of protecting American and foreign lives and property." The validity of such an excuse has been frequently questioned in the United States Congress; Senator Borah on Feb. 23, 1927, inquired: "What foreign lives have been lost or threatened? What property of foreigners destroyed?" A second excuse given for the intervention was that it was necessary in order to uphold the Monroe Doctrine. Such an allegation provokes academic controversy, but it may undeniably be affirmed that the latest intervention in Nicaragua was not necessary in order to uphold and defend the Monroe Doctrine as it was interpreted and applied prior to 1902. In the writer's opinion, the chief explanation for the latest intervention in Nicaragua is that the Department of State, until the Stimson mission of 1927, proceeded on the assumption that if the Liberals came into power under Sacasa, the questionable rights secured by the United States in the Bryan-Chamorro treaty would be jeopardized, hence the Liberals must be kept out of power.

Whatever the reason, more and more marines were sent to Nicaragua, until by Feb. 21, 1927, over 5,000 marines were in that country, and by them neutral zones had been established in eight out of ten important zones. Such action worked to the disadvantage of the Liberal revolutionists by obligating them to move out or surrender their arms; it was of advantage to the Díaz

forces since it relieved them of police duty in the neutral zones. Despite such handicaps the Liberals continued to meet with success until by April, 1927, they were within thirty miles of Managua. Such a situation brought the United States Government face to face with the alternative of actively entering the war on the side of the Díaz Government or permitting it to be overthrown by the Liberals. It was under such conditions that Colonel Stimson was sent to Nicaragua.

The Stimson mission represents a laudable reversal in the Nicaraguan policy of the United States. Colonel Stimson is the first American official since 1909 to study the Nicaraguan question as the personal representative of the President, and also the first to come to the conclusion that the majority Liberal Party is not wholly bad or unfriendly to the United States and deserves a fair chance to return to power. Hence, by mutual agreement of both parties, concurred in even by all of the Liberal leaders except Sandino, general disarmament was effected and fair elections were guaranteed. To some it has seemed unfair to Sacasa that Colonel Stimson should have insisted on Díaz being allowed to conclude the Presidential term which ends the first of next January. However, there are limitations on the demands that may be made even on democratic Governments, and it was probably too much to ask the Department of State to make formal admission of its error in having recognized and supported Díaz. While the Stimson agreements were a compromise, the fulfillment of their provisions today constitutes the chief hope of the Liberals, a fact they voluntarily proclaim to the world. On the other hand, the prospect of fair elections has struck consternation to the Conservatives, as is evidenced by the fact that only a few months ago the Conservative-controlled Chamber of Deputies declined to authorize electoral supervision by the United States—a supervision, however, which has since been authorized by a decree of President Díaz. Thus through the operation of the Stimson agreements our marines are in Nicaragua today to give to the Liberals a chance to overthrow by ballot the Government which we denied them the right to overthrow by any means.

Marriage Rate Increasing Despite Divorces

By I. M. RUBINOW

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“WHAT is happening to marriage and the family in America?”

The question is asked daily and among the answers of all kinds, it would seem all take it for granted that marriage and the family are breaking down. In face of the avalanche of discussions and opinions, the social statistician—and the writer happens to be one—sometimes feels discouraged and depressed by the general tendency either to disregard facts or to create them on the spur of the moment so as to conform to the particular point to be made. It is not only the duty of the statistician to possess a great respect for facts, but also to be careful as to what constitutes an important and relevant fact. What, then, are the facts concerning this all-important question? Are marriage and the family really breaking up?

In the rapid changes which the entire structure of modern life has been undergoing during the last twenty-five or fifty years, many new institutions have developed. Others have declined or broken down or disappeared entirely. Explanations, there may be many. But as to the facts, there usually is a fair agreement.

First and foremost, let us ask, Is there increasing resistance to marriage? Occasionally the point of view that there is prevails. Sometimes it is very common among disappointed bachelor maidens. Not only is the fact assumed, but there are ready explanations: The cost of living is rising higher; it takes a long time for the young man to be established; the modern young woman expects a higher income from her husband; clubs have destroyed family life and the incentive to marriage; young men are so eagerly pursued by the modern maiden, and flappers are so complacent that the young man does not need to get married; there are more women than men anyway, so there are not enough prizes to go around, and so on and so forth.

But what do statistics show? In 1926 there were 1,202,574 marriages, that is, 10.27 marriages per every 1,000 of population. Since there are two parties to each marriage contract, it follows that 20 persons for each 1,000 married in that one year, or 1 out of 50. Now, obviously, infants, and babies and young children do not get married. Per 1,000 persons over 15 years of age, the annual number of marriages was 15, meaning 30 persons, or 1 out of 33. To be accurate, the proportion ought to be taken to those unmarried only. That proportion in 1926 was 37.7 marriages for each 1,000 unmarried persons over 15 years of age, meaning 75 persons entering the marriage contract. Thus we find that 1 out of 13 of our unmarried friends gets married every year.

Even more significant is the fact that the marriage rate is continuously growing, contrary opinion notwithstanding. Of course, marriage requiring some economic outlays and involving some economic responsibility, the rate usually fluctuates in harmony with economic conditions. The marriage rate rises in prosperous years and declines in years of business depression. It fell from 1920 to 1922; it rose in 1923; it declined again in 1926, and probably will show a further decline this year. Notwithstanding these minor fluctuations, the marriage rate is going up just as surely as the birth rate and the death rate are going down as these figures show:

Five-Year Period	Marriage Rate Per Thousand
1892-1896	8.92
1897-1901	9.12
1902-1906	10.07
1907-1911	10.14
1912-1916	10.47
1917-1921	10.90
1922-1926	10.46

The slight decline during the last five years is undoubtedly due to economic depression of that period and also to the fact that the immediate post-war period for

many years has somewhat artificially stimulated the marriage rate.

The next question we should ask is, Do people stay married? Of the total male population of 1890, 34.9 per cent. were married; in 1900, 36 per cent.; in 1910, 38 per cent.; in 1920, 40.5 per cent. Of the total female population of 1890, 36.4 per cent. were married; in 1900, 37.1 per cent.; in 1910, 39.6 per cent.; in 1920, 41.3 per cent. What the lay reader is likely to point to is that only 40 per cent. were married and 60 per cent. remained unmarried. The same warning must, therefore, be given—that the population contains a large proportion of persons under the marriageable age. In calculating the percentage of marriage as an index of the popularity of marriage as an institution, only the adult population must be taken into consideration. Arbitrarily we have selected the age group of 25 years and over—the mature adults—and what do we find? The proportion of married men has increased from 72 per cent. in 1900 to 74 per cent. in 1920. What happened to women? We are now speaking of the married woman over 25 and not the flapper. The percentage of married women during these twenty years has increased from 70 to 71 per cent. The mature judgment evidently has not been inclined to reject marriage.

MARRIAGE RATE UNDER 25 YEARS

Let us now turn our statistical eye at another group—the younger age group which would naturally be expected to be more subject to new, contemporaneous tendencies—the group of 20 and up to 25. For the last three decennial censuses (1900, 1910 and 1920), the proportion of married men in that group was 21.6 per cent., 24 per cent. and 28 per cent. For women of the same age group the rise was equally substantial—46.5 per cent., 49.7 per cent. and 52.3 per cent. Even that is not all. Let us take the group of adolescents, the boys and girls between 15 and 20, who really should not be married. For girls, the percentage of married was—in 1900, 10 per cent.; in 1910, 11.3 per cent., and in 1920, 12.5 per cent., while among boys of the same age, the proportion of marriage has increased from 1 per cent. to 2 per cent.

There is the growing struggle for exist-

ence, the increasing cost of living, the natural desire to establish oneself in the competitive world before assuming family responsibilities, and yet one is almost tempted to draw the conclusion that the grave danger is not so much in the breaking as in the making of marriage. All this, one may observe, has happened even before Judge Lindsey began his propaganda for companionate marriage. Probably the sex movies offered a sufficient incentive and birth control propaganda a sufficient guarantee. The fact is that people do get married and at a continuously rising rate. There are proportionately more married people and less bachelors now than for the last thirty or forty years, and the increase has been particularly great in the younger age groups.

We are now prepared to enter the dismal region of divorce statistics. It may with justice be described as the most popular branch of statistics. Everybody knows the figures, at least the latest ones. Thus we learn that there were only 27,919 divorces in 1887, that the number has been rising continuously until it reached 180,853 in 1926—a more than sixfold increase in less than forty years. Divorces have increased proportionately to population, from 47 per 100,000 in 1887 to 152 per 100,000 in 1926, or more than threefold. If divorces should continue increasing at this rate—perhaps doubling every twenty years—it might not be very long before they would equal or even exceed the marriage rate. As a matter of fact, the divorce rate has been rising more rapidly during the last ten years than before. At this rate it might not be unreasonable to expect that the marriage and divorce rate might coincide in about 100 years.

Obviously, however, that would be quite an impossibility for any length of time. After all, married people will die occasionally before an opportunity for divorce presents itself. An equal marriage and divorce rate could only be a temporary situation. It would really mean that marriages are being dissolved quicker than they are being formed. It would, indeed, mean a breakdown of marriage.

What is the true divorce rate? It has become customary to compare divorce statistics with marriage statistics for the same period, an easy and convenient but somewhat misleading method. There were in

1887, for instance, 5.5 divorces for every 100 marriages performed and in 1926 there were 15 divorces per 100 marriages. Conversely, the same numerical relationship may be stated as follows: There was in 1887 one divorce per 18.2 marriages performed, and in 1926 one divorce per 6.7 marriages performed. The statements are accurate as far as they go, but what do they mean? The usual interpretation has been that in 1887 one out of every 18 marriages ends in divorce; in 1916 one out of every 10; in 1919 one out of every 8; in 1924 one out of every 7; in 1926 one out of every 6.7. By this time or soon it may be one out of every 6. Of course the figures mean nothing of the kind. There is obviously no relationship, or almost none, between the marriages and divorces of the same year. Few divorces take place during the first year of married life—less than 5 per cent. as a matter of fact. It follows, therefore, that the divorces of any one year should not be compared with the marriages of the same year.

PROBABILITY OF DIVORCE

What the public is interested in is the probability of divorce. As one mingles within one's own social circle, with one's married friends, and observes and listens, it does become a matter of very great interest to speculate who is next. What proportion of these happily married couples, according to statistics, is likely or sure to end in a divorce court? As to that, there are no accurate figures. The nearest we have come to it statistically is to figure the number of divorces per married couples per annum. There was in 1880 one divorce per annum for each 500 couples; and in 1926 one divorce per 130 married couples. That is the annual rate. So, if you know that many married couples, you may reasonably expect one divorce a year. But, after all, that does not answer the most interesting question: What is the probability of the average marriage ending in divorce? In the absence of accurate data, the writer has ventured to make an approximate estimate.

The method of computation, the reasoning upon which it is based, is extremely simple. Let us forget all about the number of marriages contracted during the year, and even the total number of married couples, and remember the one obvious thing. There are

only two ways in which the legal marriage relationship can be completely and legally terminated—either through death of either one of the couple or through divorce including annulment. Other terminations, such as legal or private separations, desertion or abandonment, do not constitute final terminations of the marriage relationship within the meaning of the law. The question then is what proportion of marriages is terminated through death or by law.

Taking the year 1924, the latest for which the necessary data are available, it appears that during that year approximately 619,000 married people died, and there were during that year 171,000 divorces. This means that the total number of marriages dissolved through death or divorce was 790,000. Thus, of all marriages dissolved, 21.7 per cent. did so by divorce and 78.3 per cent. by death. In other words, there were approximately $3\frac{1}{2}$ marriages dissolved by death for each one dissolved by divorce. In that year, the chance of termination of marriage through divorce rather than through death was 1 to $3\frac{1}{2}$, or as 2 to 7, or 2 out of every 9. The true probability of divorce being the conclusion of the happy marriage was, therefore, not 1 in 7, but 1 in $4\frac{1}{2}$. And that proportion is constantly rising. It was 1 to 7 in 1910-20, 1 to 9 in 1900-10. We thus impartially present the data on both sides—those which prove the tenacity of the marriage institution and those which indicate its seeming breakdown—and show that the hazard of divorce is much greater than we thought.

DIVORCE AS A STATUS

The next question is: What comes after? To this story also there is another side. The marriage ceremony is an act; marriage is a status. Similarly, the decree of the divorce is an act and being a divorcee is a status. We have shown that there is no decrease in the popularity of the marriage contract; on the contrary, the number of marriages is increasing. We have shown that there is no decrease in the popularity of the marriage status; on the contrary, the proportion of married people is constantly increasing. We have also shown—what everybody knows—that there is on the other hand a very rapid increase in the popularity of the divorce decree. But what about divorce as a status?

According to the last four decennial censuses, there were:

Year.	Divorced Persons.		
	Male.	Female.	Total.
1890	49,000	72,000	131,000
1900	84,000	115,000	199,000
1910	156,000	185,000	341,000
1920	235,000	275,000	510,000

These are not the total numbers of all persons who have been divorced sometime in their life, but only the number of persons who have been divorced and remained divorced at the time the census were taken. Comparatively, the increase in the number of divorced persons who remain divorced is great—from 121,000 to over 500,000 within thirty years. But after all, how small is this number of divorced persons as compared with the number of those who had obtained their divorce. Let us compare the number of people who had obtained divorce with the number of those who "kept them," so to speak. To obtain the number of persons divorced, we have, of course, to double up the number of divorces:

Decade.	No. of Persons Divorced.	No. of Divorced Persons at End of Period.
1890-99.....	816,000	199,000
1900-09.....	1,263,000	341,000
1910-19.....	2,112,000	510,000

During these thirty years over 2,000,000 divorces were granted. Thus, more than 4,000,000 people had obtained their divorce decrees. Yet there were only about half a million remaining divorced at the end of the period. What became of the other 3,500,000? Some have died, but how many it is impossible to tell. A rather rough computation seems to indicate that at most some 100,000 divorced persons died in 1900 to 1909, and some 150,000 in 1910 to 1919. There is no reason to assume an excessive mortality among divorcees. Let us allow for that mortality and make a rough computation for the decade 1910-1919:

Number of divorced persons in the beginning of the period.....	341,000
Number of persons receiving divorce during the period.....	2,112,000
Total	2,453,000
Approximate number of deaths.....	150,000
Remaining alive.....	2,303,000
Number of persons remaining divorced at end of period.....	510,000
What became of the balance?.....	1,793,000

The answer is simple—they married again.

The proportion is enormous. Only 17 per cent. remained divorced, 6 per cent. died and some 77 per cent. remarried. The fateful question, therefore, "To remarry or not to remarry," is evidently answered by an emphatic "Yes" in the vast majority, in an increasing majority, of cases. A just suspicion is raised that perhaps a decision to remarry may lie at the bottom of the decision to divorce.

CAUSES OF DIVORCE

Why do people divorce? What is the real meaning, or at least the conscious purpose, of this rising wave of divorce? The purpose is not disclosed in each individual case, but "reasons" or "causes" ostensibly are. The law does not ask of the parties who go in quest of a divorce "What for?" but only "Why?" Thus, every one of the census reports on divorce carries this information as to causes in great detail and carefully analyzed. Roughly, the figures show that the greatest proportion (some 40 per cent.) are granted for cruelty, some 30 per cent. for desertion, about 10 per cent. for drunkenness, about 5 per cent. for gross neglect of duty, another 5 per cent. for neglect to provide, and about 10 per cent. for other causes and various combinations of causes.

When the latest data are compared with earlier reports, one finds a rapid increase in the proportion of divorces granted for cruelty and some reduction in cases of desertion and adultery. Does it indicate that at present the unsuccessfully married are guilty of greater cruelty and less adultery? One should naturally expect exactly the opposite. Probably it means that as divorce legislation becomes easier the lighter breaches of the marriage contracts are put to the foreground. A much larger proportion of divorces granted to husbands are based upon adultery as the cause, and also desertion, while the wives base theirs primarily upon a charge of cruelty. Can it possibly mean that wives are more frequently guilty of adultery and desertion, or does it mean that it is harder for the husband to justify the charge of cruelty against his wife than for the wife against the husband? That these causes are primarily official causes only, meant to satisfy the court, but furnishing little explanation of the true reasons or purposes of the divorce, becomes

quite obvious when the statistics for various States are compared. Thus, for instance, in the mountain and Pacific divisions of the country—the real hotbeds of divorce, where the rate is at least double that of the rest of the country—hardly an adultery seems to occur; only 311 cases out of a total of 27,810, or a little over 1 per cent., charged it. For the country at large, the “adultery rate,” so to speak, is about 10 per cent., and in New York City 90 per cent., the point being, of course, that in any one of the eleven Western States it is seldom necessary to mention adultery, since there are so many other good and sufficient reasons recognized under the law. Drunkenness appears as the popular cause or excuse in only one State, Illinois, while in Michigan this reason is hardly used. Illustrations of this character could be multiplied indefinitely.

One often hears that the rapid increase in divorce is primarily an expression of the new woman's quest for freedom, which now finds its complete expression because of the new economic opportunities which make it unnecessary for her to remain in the irksome bondage of marriage. In support of this contention, it is pointed out that the vast majority of divorces—over 70 per cent.—are granted to the wife, as against less than 30 per cent. to the husband. The inference, therefore, appears logical. And yet, this new freedom of women should be something new, but the percentage of divorces granted to women has always been about the same. The comparative ease in the wife obtaining the divorce, the convenient use of such official causes as cruelty or gross neglect of duty, is sufficient explanation why it is to the advantage of both parties that the woman rather than the man apply, which may be done by mutual consent.

MOST DIVORCES UNCONTESTED

Everybody knows that divorce by collusion is illegal, that courts will or should decline to declare a decree on evidence of such collusion, that upright lawyers must refuse to be parties to such agreements. But here again, the statistician has the great advantage over lawyers and judges. He may view the statistical facts with complete objectivity. What is the meaning of the fact that seven-eighths of all divorces

are granted without any contest from the sued or guilty party, this percentage remaining practically uniform for nearly forty years?

There are not and in the nature of things there cannot be any accurate measurements of so intangible and fleeting a factor as the new woman's desire for new freedom because of the new economic and social conditions. But, on the other hand, the equally new psychology has taught us some insight into human motivation. We know that in their personal, emotional life at least, normal human beings seek not freedom so much as emotional ties provided they are satisfying ones. That the ostensible search for freedom is frequently, if not always, at least in the normal woman, only a rationalization of her desire to escape from the particular ties which have become irksome—perhaps with an unconscious or conscious desire to substitute more pleasant ones.

Otherwise, why divorce at all, which at best is expensive and may be irksome in addition? Surely, not for the purpose of gaining physical freedom. In the majority, perhaps in all cases, the physical separation has already taken place. After all, divorce is an expensive article always, expensive enough to be classed with luxuries even when it does not require removal to another State, establishment of a new legal residence, and so forth. As a matter of fact, most of the divorcees are poor people or at least people of such moderate means that the cost of the divorce must be taken into consideration. Surely, the more than a million and a half divorces granted during the last ten years could not all go to the leisured class, for our leisured class is not as large as all that. The fact that only in one out of eight cases is alimony asked for and only one out of eleven is alimony granted, indicates not only the amicable nature of the divorce but also the moderate financial circumstances of the divorcees. If, nevertheless, divorces are applied for and paid for, there must be not only a sufficient cause but also a sufficiently powerful purpose. May not one venture the hypothesis that the real purpose is not a theoretical freedom but a very practical desire to remarry?

The rapidly increased divorce rate, accompanied as it is by an increasing mar-

riage rate and probably contributing to it (there were in 1909-1919 some 10,000,000 marriages, and divorcees were parties to about 2,000,000 of them) cannot therefore be taken as evidence of disillusionment with marriage as a status, but only as proof of dissatisfaction with individual marriages. There is no evidence in these figures that marriage as such is breaking down. While many marriages do break down, one may say that the institution itself remains as popular as ever. It would seem useless to argue that people willy-nilly are forced into marriage by their baser nature, as an outlet for their desires. That might have sounded plausible in the gay 'nineties. We must not forget that this increasing popularity in marriage has gone on side by side with a breakdown in inhibitions and restrictions. The popularity of Judge Lindsay's campaign for "companionate marriage" cannot be explained on the ground that he has suggested a new way out. It is only evidence that society will always vociferously approve something it is already practicing. Notwithstanding all the fears of the older generation, it is the "marriage" rather than the "companionate" in Lindsey's formula that finds such noisy approval, one may add primarily from the flapper's sex.

WHY PEOPLE MARRY

Men and women, boys and girls, rich and poor, wise and otherwise, yellow, white and brown, people of all kinds, want not only to get married but to be married—not only as a duty, not only as an obligation and not only as an escape from the discredited status of old-maidism, but rather as a necessity, as a privilege, as an all-powerful urge—an urge for normal sex life, if you wish, but in the broader, true psychologic sense which includes companionship on the highest ethical level, as well as biology and physiology. Less and less do people have to get married out of sheer economic necessity—the woman to be supported, the man to look forward to the working capacity of his sons. They refuse to get married for the sole purpose of fulfilling their procreative duty. Theodore Roosevelt's "anti-race suicide" propaganda, if it were indulged in in our day, would be treated with derision.

People, frankly, marry for what they get out of married life. If they look forward

to having children, it is not because they must, but because they want to. That, too, is something they expect to get out of marriage. Gradually the woman gave up the promise to obey. If they still promise to love and cherish, it is because they want to and expect to. To love and cherish is not a duty; it is perhaps the greatest privilege that one can get out of life. All that they expect to find in marriage because they cannot find it all outside marriage. If they do not find it in a particular marriage, they do not generalize to the extent of condemning marriage as an institution.

That is all that is meant by the so-called breakdown of marriage. But it is in itself a very great change in the prevailing form of marriage as an institution. No matter what the ecclesiastical formula, marriage, at least in America, is rapidly ceasing to be an institution "for better or for worse." Consciously the collective mind expresses its determination to make marriage "for better but not for worse." There are, of course, difficulties and obligations. Economic dependence may still be one. But the new opportunities for women help some, as alimony helps others. These economic opportunities are not used for the purpose of freeing woman from man, but only to help her free herself from a certain man, perhaps until she chooses another.

Children are a much more serious obligation. It is recognized as such, for nearly 60 per cent. of the divorces reported no children. Childless divorces increase much more rapidly than divorces with children. In the forty years which we have been reviewing, the number of divorces with children has increased fivefold, while the number of childless divorces has increased eightfold. But even in face of these difficulties people insist upon "the pursuit of happiness" in their approach to marriage relationship.

One more question remains—perhaps the question of questions—Why does it become necessary to continue the search? Is it an eternal quest, which only now has found a franker expression? Or has the spirit of restlessness and dissatisfaction become exaggerated within the recent years? And if so, why? And is this spirit only a temporary, transitory condition, or will it continue to grow? But here statistics fails us.

A New Approach to the Mystery of Life

By WATSON DAVIS

MANAGING EDITOR, SCIENCE SERVICE, WASHINGTON

NO more puzzling enigma exists than the question with which both layman and scientist have struggled, "What is life?" At times men in the enthusiasm of their discoveries have thought themselves close to the secret. Layer by layer the marvelously complex structure of living matter has come under observation; the limits of human vision have been considered the ultimate, the very mainsprings of life. But that was the veneer of life. Not disappointed but inspired to attack more difficult mysteries, the searchers have allowed their minds and indirect observations to invade the realm where also dwell the electron, the quantum and the other measurable but ethereal quantities of physics and chemistry. The cell is the citadel of life, and it is upon this unit of the organism that physiologists and chemists have concentrated their interest and effort. The ultimate explanation of life the mind of man, itself a manifestation of life, may never know. But it is conceivable that we may some day know its mechanism in its simpler phases. When the British Association for the Advancement of Science met at Glasgow this year its members heard a summary of the present knowledge of the mystery of life given by Professor F. G. Donnan, the English chemist now at University College, London. Summarizing the knowledge of life's mechanism today, Professor Donnan said:

Leibnitz once remarked that "the machines of nature, that is to say, living bodies, are still machines in their smaller parts *ad infinitum*." Anatomy and histology have progressively disclosed the structure of living things. Histology has revealed to us the cell with its nucleus and cytoplasm as the apparently fundamental unit of all organs and tissues of a living being. What is contained within the membrane of a living cell? Here we approach the inner citadel of the mystery of life. If we can analyze and understand this, the first great problem—perhaps the only real problem—of general physiology will have been solved. The study of the nature and behavior of the living cell and of unicellular organisms is the true task of biology today.

The living cell contains a system known as protoplasm, though as yet no one can define what protoplasm is. One of the fundamental components of this system is the class of chemical substance known as protein, and each type of cell in each species of organism contains one or more proteins which are peculiar to it. Other components of the protoplasmic system are water and the chlorides, bicarbonates and phosphates of sodium, potassium and calcium. Other substances are also present, especially those mysterious bodies known as enzymes, which catalyse the various chemical actions occurring within the cell. Strange to say, the living cell contains within itself the seeds of death, namely, those so-called autolytic enzymes, which are capable of hydrolyzing and breaking up the protein components of the protoplasm. So long, however, as the cell continues to live, these autolytic enzymes do not act. What a strange thing! The harpies of death sleep in every unit of our living bodies, but as long as life is there their wings are bound and their devouring mouths are closed.

This protoplasmic system exists in what is known as the colloid state. Roughly speaking, this means that it exists on a rather fluid sort of jelly. There is something extraordinarily significant in this colloid state of the protoplasmic system, though no one as yet can say what it really means. Recollecting the statement of Leibnitz, one may be sure that the protoplasmic system of the cell constitutes a wonderful sort of machine. There must exist some very curious inner structure where the protein molecules are marshalled and arrayed as long mobile chains or columns. The molecular army within the cell is ready for quick and organized action and is in a state, during life, of constant activity. Oxidation, assimilation and the rejection of waste products are always going on. The living cell is constantly exchanging energy and materials with its environment. The apparently stationary equilibrium is in reality a kinetic or dynamic equilibrium. But there is a great mystery here. Deprive your motor car of petrol or of oxygen and the engine stops. Yes, but it does not die, it does not at once begin to go to pieces. Deprive the living cell of oxygen or food and it dies and begins at once to go to pieces. The autolytic enzymes begin to hydrolyze and break up the dead protoplasm. Why is this? What is cellular death? The atoms and the molecules and ions are still there. Meyerhof has shown that the energy content of living protein is no greater than that of dead protein. Has some ghostly entelechy or vital impulse escaped unobserved?

Now it is just here, at the very gate between life and death, that the English physi-

ologist, A. V. Hill, is on the eve of a discovery of astounding importance, if indeed he has not already made it. It appears from his work on non-medullated nerve cells and on muscle that the organized structure of these cells is a chemodynamic structure which requires oxygen, and therefore oxidation, to preserve it. The organization, the molecule structure, is always tending to run down, to approach biochemical chaos and disorganization. It requires constant oxidation to preserve the peculiar organization or organized molecular structure of life of a living cell. The life machine is therefore totally unlike our ordinary mechanical machines. Its structure and organization are not static. They are in reality dynamic equilibria, which depend on oxidation for their very existence. The living cell is like a battery which is constantly running down and which requires constant oxidation to keep it charged. It is perhaps a little premature at the present moment to say how far these results will prove to be general. Personally I believe that they are of enormous importance and generality, and that for the first time in the history of science we begin, perhaps as yet a little dimly, to understand the difference between life and death and therefore the very meaning of life itself. Life is a dynamic molecular organization kept going and preserved by oxygen and oxidation. Death is the natural irreversible breakdown of this structure, always present and only warded off by the structure-preserving action of oxidation.

Unsatisfied with mere attempts at the explanation of life, the scientists are probing its origins. Some have believed that life has existed throughout the universe and that its germs have ridden into this earth on a meteor or a fleck of cosmic dust. The theory of home-grown life for the earth has found greater support in recent years. The idea that the ocean is the mother of life has gained favor. Let Professor Donnan summarize the new evidence:

If the living has arisen on this planet from what we regard as the non-living, then various extremely interesting points arise. It is already pretty certain that it originated in the primeval ocean, since the inorganic salts present in the circulating fluids of animals correspond in nature and relative amounts to what we have good reason to believe was the composition of the ocean some hundred million years ago. The image of Aphrodite rising from the sea is therefore not without scientific justification. We have seen that life requires for its existence a certain amount of free energy or non-equilibrium in the environment. In the early atmosphere there was plenty of carbon dioxide, and probably also some oxygen, though nothing like so much as at present. Volcanic action would provide plenty of oxidizable substance, such, for example, as ammonia or sulphuretted hydrogen. As we have seen previously, certain bacteria could, therefore, in all probability, have lived and assimilated carbon dioxide, producing organic substances such as sugar and proteins.

This argument, though very interesting

from the point of view of Panspermia, has a serious flaw in it from the present point of view, since the bodies of these bacteria would necessarily contain the complicated organic protein of the protoplasm. When the earth cooled down to a temperature compatible with life it is probable that the ocean contained little if any of such organic substances or their simpler organic components. There was likewise no chlorophyll present to achieve the photo-chemical assimilation of carbon dioxide. Hence the necessity of considering how organic substances could have arisen by degrees in a primeval ocean originally containing only inorganic constituents.

The late Professor Benjamin Moore took up this question and endeavored to prove that colloidal iron oxide, in the presence of light, moisture and carbon dioxide, could produce formaldehyde, a substance from which sugar can be derived. This work of Moore's has been actively taken up and developed by Professor Daly in recent years. He has conclusively proved that, in the presence of light, moisture and carbon dioxide, formaldehyde and sugar can be produced at the surface of certain colored inorganic compounds, such as nickel carbonate. We may therefore conclude that the production of the necessary organic substances in the primeval ocean offers no insuperable obstacle to science.

But there is still a very great difficulty in the way, a difficulty that was pointed out by Professor Japp, I think, at a former meeting of the British Association in Scotland. The protein components of the protoplasmic system are optically active substances. As is well known, such optically active substances, i. e., those which rotate the plane of polarization of polarized light, are molecularly asymmetric and always exist in two forms, a dextrorotatory and a laevorotatory form. Both these forms possess equal energies, and so their formations in a chemical reaction are equally probable. As a matter of fact, chemical reaction always produces these two forms in equal quantities, and so the resulting mixture is optically inactive. How, then, did the optical protein of the first protoplasm arise? In spite of many attempts to employ plane or circularly polarized light for this purpose, chemists have not, so far as I know, succeeded in producing an asymmetric synthesis, i. e., a production of the dextro or laevorotatory form, starting from optically inactive, that is to say, symmetrical substances. The nut which Professor Japp asked us to crack has turned out to be a very hard one, though there is little reason to doubt that it will be cracked sooner or later. Even were this accomplished, very formidable difficulties still remain; for we have to imagine the production of the dynamically organized and regulated structure of living protoplasm.

If the living did spring from the non-living, what were the first particles of living matter? The answer may be sinister. To join the microbes that Pasteur's microscope made visible and responsible for many of the ills that afflict us, there have come

into the knowledge of science bacteriophages or filterable viruses, queer sorts of organisms—or are they merely phenomena?—so exceedingly minute that they are invisible even to the ultramicroscope which sees pigmies of the germ world beyond the power of the light that affects the human eye. Dread diseases, new and old, are blamed upon these minute mysteries that the French-Canadian bacteriologist, d'Herelle, investigated. Recently gold plating of these bacteriophages has been accomplished by German chemists, and they have been given metallic shells large enough to measure. From this Professor Donnan concludes:

It appears that the individuals of d'Herelle's bacteriophage are small discs whose diameter lies between 35 mm. and 100 mm. Now the diameter of an ordinary chemical molecule is of the order of 1 mm., i. e., one millionth of a millimeter. Many colloid particles are vastly bigger than that. If it be proved beyond all doubt that they are really living organisms, then the individuals of d'Herelle's bacteriophage are comparable in size with known colloid aggregates of non-living matter. This result gives rise to strange hopes. If we can find a complete continuity of dimensions between the living and the non-living, is there really any point where we can say that there is life and there is no life? That would be a daring and perhaps a dangerous theme to dwell on at the present time. But where there is hope there is a possibility of research. And who will set a limit to the discoveries that are possible to science in the future?

SCIENCE AND THE SOUL

An examination of the section of Sir William Bragg's Presidential address before the British Association, referred to in early cable dispatches as a declaration on his part that science has proved the existence and immortality of the soul, shows that an unfortunate omission of three words has been responsible for the widespread discussion in the American press. What he actually said, according to the official text,

was: "Science, as a young friend said to me not long ago, is not setting forth to destroy the soul of the nation, but to keep body and soul together." Some unlucky reporter failed to catch the three words, "of the nation," or some careless telegrapher omitted them in sending the dispatch, with the result that on this side of the Atlantic the word got out that the famous physicist had made a flat-footed assertion about the existence of the human soul, when all he was talking about was national spirit and the possibility that machine production may destroy craftsmanship. This also takes all the point out of the story that in his address Sir William Bragg directly contradicted his predecessor in office, Sir Arthur Keith, who is quoted as having said last year that the human soul does not exist. A close examination of the official text of Sir Arthur's address discloses no reference to the soul, either one way or the other. The nearest thing that might have a bearing on the subject, so far as can be discovered in the printed report of his speech, is a quotation from Professor G. Elliot Smith about the brains of apes and men: "No structure found in the brain of an ape is lacking in the human brain, and, on the other hand, the human brain reveals no formation of *any sort* that is not present in the brain of the gorilla or chimpanzee. * * * The only distinctive feature of the human brain is a quantitative one." But brains are not souls; so that it would appear to require a considerable mental stretch to make even this quotation apply to the question. After the controversy over his address got started a year ago Sir Arthur Keith did elucidate his agnostic position regarding the soul, in further communications to the British press. But in his Presidential address he said nothing about it.



Aerial Events of the Month

The Graf Zeppelin's Great Flight Across the Atlantic— Commander Byrd's Departure

ON Oct. 11, 1928, the giant German dirigible, Graf Zeppelin, rose from her hangar at Friedrichshafen on her first trans-Atlantic voyage to Lakehurst, N. J. Captain Hugo Eckener, her designer and commander, had hoped with favorable conditions to make the trip in 50 to 100 hours, but the voyage, far from an easy crossing of the Atlantic, was one of considerable length and of considerable excitement..

When the Graf Zeppelin left Friedrichshafen, a southerly course was adopted due to meteorological conditions, and Captain Eckener was forced to take the dirigible some thousand miles off her course. During the first twenty-four hours of her flight, dispatches came in from German and Spanish towns over which she passed in her flight to the Atlantic coast of Africa. She was next seen over Madeira, where a mail-bag was dropped. Her course then took the direction of the Bermudas. At noon on Oct. 13, when the ship was east of Bermuda, a radio message came through for vessels to stand-by, that the Graf Zeppelin was in difficulty. Thirty vessels were instantly informed to be on the watch, and twenty-one warships were held ready to stand-by; but two hours later another message came that help was no longer needed. The port horizontal tail fin of the airship had been damaged, reducing the airspeed to thirty-five knots an hour.

The story of the repairing of the damaged horizontal is one of the great tales in aerial history. While the zeppelin, in mid-air, continued her flight in the face of headwinds, Knud Eckener, the son of Captain Eckener, with other members of the crew, climbed out of the ship, and performing a feat of great daring, repaired the horizontal so that the Graf Zeppelin was able to resume her former speed of over fifty land miles an hour. At 7:35 on the evening of Oct. 13, word came that the dirigible had passed over the Bermudas and that, instead of heading for Cape Hatteras as she

had planned, she would, since there was a limited supply of food and fuel, steer direct for Lakehurst.

At 1 o'clock on Oct. 14 Baltimore welcomed her with an uproar of whistles and sirens. She had previously passed over Washington, where the President and Mrs. Coolidge left their noonday reception to join the watching throng. Three hours later New York heard the sound of a great motor and saw the Graf Zeppelin floating over the city. She was greeted at Lakehurst at 5:30 P. M. by a huge crowd. The ship took approximately 111 hours to cover some 6,300 miles.

For well over two years the Graf Zeppelin has been under construction. In January, 1928, there were hopes for a first flight in May, but already the fabulous sums necessary for financing this flight had become a problem. A few weeks before the take-off of the giant dirigible two American business men offered amazing sums for the privilege of advertising on the silvery expanse of the balloon, but Captain Eckener did not avail himself of this opportunity. Financial difficulties were overcome, however, by popular subscription and by Governmental aid; but delays were still unavoidable. In June the painters had begun their work, and Captain Eckener hoped to offer the LZ-127 for a rescue expedition to the Nobile disaster.

Still there were delays. At the end of July the trial, or shop, flight had not yet taken place. The substitution of blau gas, or "blue" gas as it is now known, for gasoline, caused certain changes in the make-up of the machinery and in the attitude of Governmental officials. Nor was there as yet enough blau gas being produced to fill the tanks for an ocean voyage, 30,000 cubic meters being necessary for the trip. The five Maybach motors which run the dirigible had also to be tested, examined and approved, and some thousands of tourists who were anxious to see the largest aircraft now in existence had to be satisfied.

At last, on Sept. 18, the Graf Zeppelin made her first flight over Lake Constance, most successfully, and two weeks later she flew over Southern England, this time carrying passengers, the first German dirigible to fly over the British Isles since the air raids over London during the war.

BYRD'S ANTARCTIC EXPEDITION

The 12th of October found Commander Byrd aboard the whaler C. H. Larsen, two days out from Los Angeles; the supply ship Eleanor Bolling was some three hundred miles northeast of the Galapagos, off the coast of Ecuador; the barque City of New York was in the middle of the Pacific, over a thousand miles east of the Marquesas Isles; the whaler Sir James Clark Ross was well on its route to New Zealand; the radio equipment of the airplanes had been tested, and the Westinghouse broadcasting station had definitely arranged to broadcast continually to the expedition after Nov. 17.

Already the vessels have had a foretaste of the adventures in store for them. The Eleanor Bolling, running into the northeaster which swept up the southern coast, was buffeted about for twenty-four hours.

The C. A. Larsen, putting out from New York, traveled through the Panama Canal to San Pedro, the port of Los Angeles, where, after twenty-four hours, she was boarded by Commander Byrd.

The Sir James Clark Ross traveled safely with its hundred dogs, of which only one has been lost. The flagship City of New York escaped the Southern storms, passed through the Panama Canal, stopping a few days for repairs, and safely crossed the Equator.

The fleet will meet at Dunedin, New Zealand, and from there will start for "the bottom of the world."

THE DEATH OF ROALD AMUNDSEN

The official notice of the death of Roald Amundsen and news of the discontinuance of expeditions in search of him were received with widespread sorrow.

Amundsen was born in Norway in 1872. His first expedition, in 1903, discovered the true Northwest passage and relocated the

position of the magnetic North Pole. On his second, in 1911, he planted a Norwegian flag at the South Pole. His third adventure was finally and thoroughly successful when, in the Norge, in 1926, with General Nobile, he flew over the North Pole. This was to have been his last. "But the call to the rescue of his former colleague proved irresistible, and starting from Tromsøe on June 18 in the ill-fated Latham seaplane piloted by the French officer, Captain Guibaud, he went North once more, and for the last time."

Progress in aviation in the United States was demonstrated at the National Air Races and Aeronautical Exposition held during the week of Sept. 8-16 at Los Angeles, under the auspices of the California Air Race Association. The famous "Three Seahawks," Tomlinson, Davis and Storres of the navy, and the "Three Musketeers," Williams, Cornelius and Woodring of the army, tried to outdo each other in daring stunts. When, during one of the series of manoeuvres, on Sept. 11, Lieutenant J. J. Williams of the army trio crashed and later died, his place was taken for the remaining activities by Colonel Lindbergh, who flew with these companions for the first time in three years.

The event at the exposition which aroused the keenest interest was the cross-country race from Roosevelt Field, Long Island. Some seventy-five planes were entered for the four classes, with \$52,000 in prizes. Bad weather and engine trouble caused eight of the nine entrants to drop out short of the goal. Art Goebel, the ninth, flying through storms, ran so low on fuel that he was forced to land at Prescott, Ariz., but took the air once more, arriving at Mines Field on Sept. 13, after 23 hours and 50 minutes of flying. However, the stop at Prescott disqualified him. A second long-distance flight was launched from Los Angeles to Cincinnati. Again Art Goebel, in the Yankee Doodle, arrived first at the goal, Lunken Airport in Cincinnati, and this time won the prize of \$3,000. His flying time for the 1,875 miles was 15 hours and 17 minutes.



The British Cabinet Split on Entering the World War

By SIDNEY B. FAY

PROFESSOR OF EUROPEAN HISTORY, SMITH COLLEGE; AUTHOR OF
The Origins of the World War

IN all the literature of the World War origins, no memoir perhaps is more profoundly moving than the memorandum of Lord Morley, entitled "On the Eve of the Catastrophe," printed in *The New Republic* of Oct. 10, 1928. For brevity, sincerity, nobility of thought and expression and stern determination to follow the dictates of his own conscience rather than the dictates of office or public opinion, it has hardly a parallel. It records the mental anguish of a great soul forced by his own vision to part company with old friends whom he loved and revered. More than that, it reveals to the world what a few men have long known, but which none have publicly described in any detail—the seriousness of the split in the British Cabinet which was caused by Sir Edward Grey's long-standing "conversations" and moral obligations to France and which was preliminary to Great Britain's entrance into the war.

We realize that to touch what Morley has written is an act of profanation. Yet in the hope that others will be led to read it, we venture to attempt to summarize this intensely human record.

The telegram of the British Ambassador, Buchanan, of July 24, 1914, from St. Petersburg, partly suppressed from the British Blue Book, described the hopes of the Russian Foreign Minister, Sazonov, that England would not fail to declare her solidarity with France and Russia, and Buchanan's own conviction that, even if England did not join, France and Russia were determined to make a strong stand, i. e., in plain language, to fight Germany and Austria. The receipt of this telegram caused Grey to lay before the Cabinet the question of British neutrality and to state his own attitude:

We could no longer defer decision. Things were moving very rapidly. We could no longer wait on accident, and postpone. If the Cabinet was for neutrality, he [Grey] did not think he was the man to carry out such a policy. There he ended, in accents of

unaffected calm and candor. The Cabinet seemed to heave a sort of sigh, and a moment or two of breathless silence fell upon us. I followed him, expressing my intense satisfaction that he had brought the inexorable position, to which circumstances had now brought us, plainly and definitely before us. It was fairer to France and everybody else, ourselves included. * * * [Then or a day or two later] Grey rather suddenly let fall his view, in the pregnant words that German policy was that of a great "European aggressor, as bad as Napoleon." "I have no German partialities," I observed, "but you do not give us evidence." Perhaps he might have cited the series of Naval Laws.

Grey and Asquith soon began to press the Cabinet to consider England's obligation to Belgium as being doubtless the question which would be most likely to move their colleagues to support France and Russia, but up to Aug. 3 this question remained secondary in the Cabinet to the pre-eminent controversy as to the extent and nature of England's moral obligation to France.

Meanwhile Harcourt was busy organizing the other true Campbell-Bannerman Liberals in favor of British neutrality. There were luncheons at which half the Ministers seemed firm in this direction against Grey, Asquith, Churchill and Haldane. Besides Harcourt, Morley and Burns, there were Beauchamp, McKinnon Wood, Hobhouse, Pease, Simon, Samuel and Lloyd George. On one of these days, says Morley, "I tapped Winston on the shoulder as he took his seat next me. 'Winston, we have beaten you after all.' He smiled cheerfully. Well he might." For most of these men who at first favored neutrality and were opposed to extending the Entente into an alliance changed their minds or were won over by Grey and Asquith. Morley's severe judgment on Lloyd George's motives and "demagogic calculations" can hardly be pleasant reading to that ever-shifting leader.

Against aiding France, Morley pointed out the danger to England and to Western civilization if Russia should triumph. Others, including Lloyd George, emphasized

the terrible consequences for England's finance, commerce and industry if she entered a war, which would be followed by a great rise in food prices and probably by industrial violence and tumult at home. Grey argued for preserving the balance of power between Triple Alliance and Triple Entente.

On Saturday, Aug. 1, Grey raised the question of warning Germany not to come into the Channel or attack the French coast. Burns vigorously denounced the idea as being virtually tantamount to a declaration of war on the sea against Germany and as leading inevitably to war on the land in support of France and Russia. Two days later, when the Cabinet was persuaded to acquiesce in having Grey give the warning to Germany and inform Cambon, the French Ambassador in London, of it, Burns resigned. Morley also, on Monday morning, Aug. 3, wrote to Asquith asking to resign, but consenting to attend the Cabinet meeting to be held in the evening. "Saw Lloyd George and told him I had sent in my resignation. He seemed astonished. *'But if you go it will put us who don't go in a great hole.'* I made the obvious reply to this singular remark."

Of his own conflicting emotions on this day Lord Morley writes:

Two hours rumination at the club. Felt acutely what Mr. Gladstone had often told me, that a public man can have no graver responsibility than quitting a Cabinet on public grounds, * * * involving relations for good or ill with other people, and possibly affecting besides all else the whole machinery of domestic government. * * *

The significance of the French Entente had been rather disingenuously played with, both before the Cabinet and Parliament. * * * The Prime Minister and Grey had both of them assured the House of Commons that we had no engagements unknown to the country. Yet here we were confronted by engagements that were vast, indeed, be-

cause indefinite and indefinable. * * * Then the famous letter to Cambon of November, 1912, which we had extorted from Grey—what a singularly thin and deceptive document it was turning out to be!

I could not but be penetrated by the precipitancy of it all. What grounds for expecting that the ruinous waste and havoc of war would be repaid by peace on better terms than were already within reach of reason and persistent patience? When we counted our gains, what would they amount to, when reckoned against the ferocious hatred that would burn with inextinguishable fire, for a whole generation at least, between two great communities better fitted to understand one another than any other pair in Europe? This moral devastation is a worse incident of war even than human carnage and all the other curses with which war lashes its victims and dupes. * * *

Grey, after too long delay, had wisely and manfully posed the issue of the hour for his colleagues when he declared that we must now decide between intervention and neutrality, and that for neutrality he was not the man. Nor am I the man, I said to myself, to sit in the Council of War into which Campbell-Bannerman's Cabinet is to be transformed.

Then came the Cabinet meeting at 6:30 P. M. Grey reported his conversation with Cambon. Burns said he must go. As they got up from their chairs, Morley said to Asquith that he feared he, too, must go; but he consented to sleep on it. At midnight came a note from Asquith imploring him to think twice and thrice "before you take a step which impoverishes the Government, and leaves me stranded and almost alone." Mental anguish again held Morley by the throat. He paced his library and his garden, and then got into a motor to drive to Whitehall, but, as he drove, all his doubts cleared away, and he sent the Prime Minister his final resignation.

"The old liberalism had done its work, and the time had come for openly changing imperial landmarks and extinguishing beacons that needed new luminants."



The Dangers That Beset International Peace

By ALBERT BUSHNELL HART

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THE American in Europe feels the strong undercurrent of the movement for International Peace, through the method of making war abnormal. That the proposal for this intensely desired result comes from the United States is reasonable, inasmuch as for a hundred and fifty years America has been formulating principles of international law which other nations have gradually taken over.

At the beginning of our national history the United States began to train diplomats. It would be hard to find a negotiation of importance in which we lost the game for lack of strength in the White House or in our foreign embassies or ministries.

The World War was a trial of tenacity in foreign policy. Everybody understood that Bryan, as Secretary of State, though a great man, was out of place in the State Department. The notes of protest against German seizures and destruction of neutral ships, were the hands of Esau but the voice was the voice of Jacob. Woodrow Wilson, in that controversy, was his own Secretary of State. As such, when the United States declared war on Germany, in April, 1918, he let go of the principle of the right of neutrals to trade with any belligerents, without danger of capture or destruction of American ships—unless carrying acknowledged contraband of war, or bound to a blockaded port.

In England, today, a visitor picks up an occasional remark which reveals the determination of the British nation to prevent in any future war the traffic in foods and military arms and supplies by neutrals to the enemies of England. Inasmuch as the United States Government, during and since the war, has never demanded adjustment of private claims for seizures of American vessels and property, although contrary to the principles of neutral trade insisted upon by the United States from 1793 to 1918, we must believe that all private claims of

Americans for seizure of their neutral vessels and cargoes during the World War have been privately "squared." The principle of the State Department seems to be that if nobody "squeals" there is no ground of protest by the nation in behalf of its traditional neutral rights.

If war is successfully outlawed all over the world, there can be no such thing as neutrality or neutral trade. If Mars should break these new-forged fetters, and war should break out between European maritime Powers, how is the United States to recover this lost ground? Will it become a principle of international law that no nation shall ship food to a belligerent? Or military supplies? What will be the status and rights of airship cruisers, which cannot possibly man a prize or take the passengers on board? In the midst of the agitation for world peace arises the possibility of irresponsible small Powers or Oriental Powers declaring war and attacking neutral countries from overhead. What would be the attitude of the United States as a neutral?

This question reveals a new tendency in American diplomacy—the laying down of policies and drafting of international documents by private organizations. Everybody knows that "Enforcement of Peace" is a term first used by the "League to Enforce Peace," which was active in the United States before the World War. This society, of which William H. Taft was President, and A. Lawrence Lowell was Chairman of the Executive Committee, several years before the World War attempted to solve the problem of dealing with trouble-making Powers. This effort to create a kind of world police was made impossible by the World War. Yet various features of the program of the League to Enforce Peace reappear in President Wilson's draft of a League of Nations, and are incorporated in the Covenant.

One of the marvels and triumphs of American diplomacy is the proposal emanating from Secretary of State Kellogg, and greatly strengthened by the responsible support of President Coolidge. The trouble is that Europe is convulsed at the thought of war. In England, as in the United States, practically no officer or soldier will tell the intimate details of trench warfare. They are like the Montenegrin, who in 1913 pointed out the distant fort of Scutari, taken by trench warfare, "Our men lived in the ground. They lived like dogs." Permanent peace (on honorable terms) is the agonizing wish of the British nation. But, *but*, permanent peace must include protection of British trade and of the communications with the Colonies, if war should come.

England has been greatly stirred by a recent mock engagement of air ships above London. For it proved beyond controversy that a fleet of determined enemies could force its way above the city, in spite of any imaginable system of air defense—and part of the attacking fleet might safely get away. The only effective defense seems to be to send a similar air fleet of equally ferocious and equally unpreventable birds of prey across the Channel to destroy Berlin or Vienna or Petrograd. And that would not make the world any safer for democracy.

Now that transoceanic traffic approaches safety (in time of peace) the protection of 3,000 miles of ocean ceases to conserve the United States. Besides direct flight, we are subject to the inroads of bombing planes launched from enormous carriers, such as we are building for ourselves. Hence it is quite conceivable that a hundred aerial enemies might gather over New York and Washington; and five hundred American planes could not save the cities from immense losses—though only ten of the hundred assailants got away safe.

Air warfare, high explosives, lethal gases—there is now no system of defense against that combination. The richer the nation, the larger the cities, the wider the population, so much greater the opportunity for determined enemies. A small but highly civilized country—say Belgium or Austria—might, if set upon it, destroy London or

Paris before Brussels or Vienna paid the penalty.

In the effort to meet these new and terrible dangers, the gratitude of mankind is due to the forces of organized public opinion in the United States, which have been trying ever since the World War to build up a world-peace sentiment. The League of Nations has been a great education—though all the world knows that the few critical questions that have come before it have been settled by the Council, representing the powerful nations, and not by the Assembly. The two world courts—the Hague Tribunal, and the World Court of International Justice, both can act as tribunals only after the fact—the effort to give them preventive powers broke down. Of what use to denounce a particular nation as the aggressor if its aggression has already destroyed a neighbor nation?

Meanwhile France keeps up the largest standing army in the world, including hundreds of thousands of Africans. Great Britain still maintains the most powerful navy. All the nations in danger of being involved in a general war are testing air destruction. The pressure of the present active great European Powers—England, France and Germany—is for peace. As the richest and most populous countries, they have most to lose by the modern type of war.

Italy looks all around the horizon for more territory; and so far has acquired only a pepper-pot State in Europe—Albania. A nation like Italy which does not produce coal, iron, copper, rubber or oil, could not keep an army in the field a month, without supplies from outside. Russia is out of the picture just now; but there can be no real world peace which leaves Russia out of account, any more than there can be peace in the Orient till China settles down. No leagues, no assemblies, no world courts, no outlawing of war can secure world peace while Russia and China, containing a third of the human race, are out of equilibrium. The European horizon is dark. The Kellogg plan has appealed to mankind as a practical means of uniting the attention and responsibility of nations of good will upon the aggressor. Yet is that world peace? Or a League to Enforce Peace? Or a means of defense of nations that desire peace?

Reparations Question Reopened: America Rejects Franco-British Naval Accord

By JAMES THAYER GEROULD

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AFTER ten years of recrimination, of futile gestures of rage, of impossible demands, Europe has undertaken to find a solution of the problems of reparations that has some relation to reality. The hysteria of the Khaki Election in Great Britain at the end of the war and of Poincaré's war memorial speeches is a thing of the past; the tables of figures, astronomic in size, purporting to show how Germany was to pay the entire cost of the war, have been thrown into the waste basket; and the politicians have been driven to accept those principles which, years ago, were urged by Keynes, by Nitti and by liberals generally. The theory of the undivided responsibility for the war, on which the Treaty of Versailles, and the reparation claims was founded, although still vigorously defended, has had so many holes knocked in it that the whole structure is weakened and cannot permanently carry the load. The stubborn facts of finance and of economics have battled against impossible claims and are compelling the liquidation of the debts on terms that would have been met with derisive laughter only a few years ago.

The issue was precipitated by the demand for the evacuation of the Rhineland. Germany claimed that, since she had fulfilled her obligations as to disarmament, the Allied troops should at once be withdrawn. Realizing that, with every passing month, the trading value of the occupation was diminishing, and desiring to cash in on it at its present value, France has agreed to enter a conference at which the terms of a final settlement will be discussed. On Sept. 11 Chancellor Müller of Germany, Lord Cushendun, representing Great Britain, Foreign Minister Briand of France, Scialoja representing Italy and Hymans representing Belgium, sat down together and attempted to work out the preliminary plans. There were two major questions at issue. If the Rhineland is evacuated, said the

French, we must substitute for military occupation some other form of control that will insure the observance by Germany of its obligations under the treaty. To this principle the Germans agreed, but they took issue with Briand as to the name of the proposed commission, the date when it should begin to function, its duration and its powers. Briand wished that it should be organized as soon as the Second Zone is evacuated; the Germans only after the troops have been withdrawn from the Third Zone. They insisted too that its powers should cease in 1935. Agreement has not yet been reached on all of these matters; but, on Sept. 16, an official communiqué announced that the conference had determined on:

1. The opening of official negotiations relating to the request put forward by the German Chancellor regarding the early evacuation of the Rhineland;

2. The necessity for a complete and definite settlement of the reparations problem, and for the constitution for this purpose of a committee of financial experts to be nominated by the six Governments;

3. The acceptance of the principle of the constitution of a committee of verification and conciliation. The composition, mode of operation, object and duration of the committee will form the subject of negotiation between the Governments concerned.

Evacuation and control are minor questions as compared with that of reparations. After ten years of discussion, the total of Germany's reparation obligations is still undetermined. By the terms of the Dawes agreement, she pays annually large sums on account, but the time when the payments will end comes no nearer. The situation is intolerable, and it has at last been recognized as such by the Allies. At the same time, France hesitates to commit herself finally in regard to her American debt because of her fear that the Dawes plan may become inoperative, and payments by Germany cease. If she could be assured that, during sixty-two years, these annual payments would be forthcoming, she would

sign the Mellon-Béranger agreement at once. In other words, if Germany would pay France's debt to America, plus a reasonable sum for reconstruction, she would be satisfied. It will be much more satisfactory all around, they add, if, by the sale of the railroad and industrial bonds provided for in the Dawes settlement, the time over which the payments are spread can be reduced. Their desire for some settlement of this kind is no doubt increased by the fact that, a year hence, the French Treasury will have to pay to the United States, under agreements already effected, the sum of \$400,000,000, due for supplies purchased at the end of the war, and no provision has been made for it in the budget. By the terms of the Mellon-Béranger agreement, this sum is incorporated with the remainder of the debt and may be met in annual instalments.

The position of Great Britain is somewhat different. She stands squarely on the principle contained in the Balfour note. If her obligations to America are reduced, she is ready, by so much, to lower her demands on her European debtors and on Germany. Although there is a growing feeling that the promptness with which she signed her own debt agreement with us, and the terms which she accepted, was a mistake, she is quite unwilling to make any direct appeal for its modification; but, should the proposed committee of experts suggest a general liquidation of war debts, she would be glad to participate.

Although Briand and his associates affirm that the plan they have in mind does not necessarily require the participation of the United States, it is obvious to everyone that any attempt to market bonds of a face value of \$400,000,000 without recourse to Wall Street would be impossible. They remember quite clearly, however, that a similar suggestion, made after the Thoiry conversations, was received very coldly in Washington. They hope that, in its new form, the proposal will be more acceptable. Cash in one's pocket is worth more than a series of promissory notes running through sixty-two years. If cash can be offered equivalent to a large fraction of the present value of the sum which, under the debt agreements, the United States is due to receive during two generations, they believe

we have much to gain and little to lose. The present value of these payments is approximately \$4,000,000,000, and the face value of the Dawes bonds is not far from the same amount. If they can be sold in the open market for three billions and the sum offered in settlement of the entire obligation, we might think it advantageous to accept it.

Along with the Dawes bonds, secured by railroad and industrial property, the German Government is to be required to authorize the issue to France and Belgium of additional securities of equal value to cover the costs of reconstruction. These bonds would not be sold but would eventually be retired by deliveries in kind. In other words, the total liabilities of Germany are to be fixed at \$8,000,000,000, rather than \$33,000,000,000, which is about the lowest previous French figure.

The marketing of such a vast volume of securities is, of course, a very difficult operation; but competent financial opinion, both in this country and abroad, holds it to be possible. At least \$2,000,000,000 of the Dawes bonds would have to be sold in this country. This is roughly equivalent to the total of American investments in Germany since the war. If our Government gives its sanction, it seems to be the opinion of Wall Street that our investment market could absorb it. President Coolidge and Secretary Mellon have been quoted recently as maintaining their previously expressed opinion that there can be no connection between reparations and war debts, and that the question, so far as they are concerned, is closed. It could hardly be expected that, so near to the election and the end of the present Administration, they would take any other position.

The session of the League of Nations Assembly, that has witnessed such notable progress in the settlement of the problem of reparations, was the occasion of a vast amount of talk about disarmament, but of small advance toward its accomplishment. It would be unfair, as well as unintelligent, to assert that nothing was accomplished; for in a negotiation of this kind there must be a vast amount of sparring, of jockeying for place, before agreement is reached. The necessity for positive action becomes increasingly evident with every month that



NO SECRETS
—Cleveland Plain Dealer

passes. Present war weariness aside, Europe is in no less an explosive state than it was in 1914. Italy and Spain, at least so far as their Governments are concerned, are almost openly contemptuous of the idea of disarmament; but they can hardly stand against a program on which there is general agreement. France is willing to disarm, but only in exchange for "security," by which she means the maintenance of the *status quo* and her own virtual hegemony in Continental Europe. Great Britain is willing to disarm, but only if she can be sure that her sea power will not suffer. The United States is willing to disarm, but only if, on land and sea, our prestige and power can be maintained. Each nation tries to shift to another the responsibility for failure to agree.

Just what are the terms and the implications of the Anglo-French agreement, despite the vast amount of discussion that it has occasioned, is at this writing still uncertain. A White Book, covering the entire correspondence, has been promised for publication some time in November. When its existence was first announced by Sir Austen Chamberlain in the House of Commons

on July 30 it was thought to relate solely to naval matters; but it later developed that it covered land forces as well. It has been stated on good authority, and denied categorically by both Governments concerned, that the agreement constitutes a renewal of the Anglo-French Entente. There is no reason to doubt the technical accuracy of the governmental statements; but the belief persists that Great Britain has accepted the French position in regard to land forces at the same time that France has agreed to support the British thesis regarding naval matters. The denial that the two things are associated is singularly unconvincing. The fact is probably as phrased by Jules Sauerwein, the well-known editor of the *Paris Matin*: "Probably no note of agreement was ever written, and it was certainly best that it should not be. One can make a treaty or a contract, but an entente of this kind is best preserved in spirit and fact by the word to each other of two men who see a common interest." Among the reasons that have been advanced to account for the reversal of the traditional British opposition to the principle of conscription is this: Germany has again and again insisted that if the Allies fail to accomplish that disarmament which, according to the Treaty of Versailles, was to follow their own, she must be released from her own engagement. The new entente, if it exists, is thought to be a warning to Germany that Great



SWARMING AGAIN
—Washington Post



AD ASTRA

Mars: "I am not making the flight to Heaven. I am remaining on earth."

—*Kladderadatsch*, Berlin

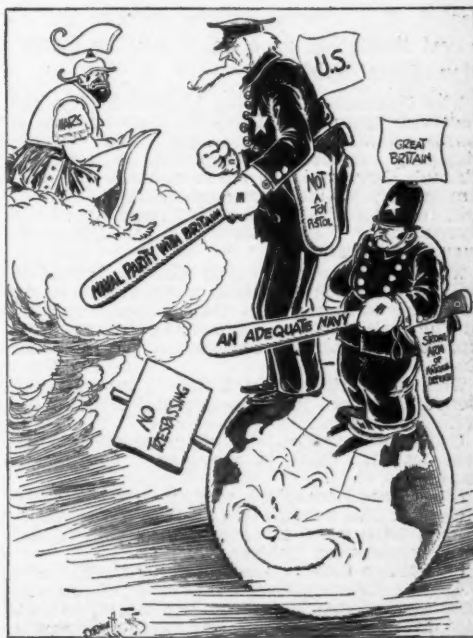
Britain will stand with France in resisting any attempt to escape from the requirements of the treaty.

Evidently only the substance of the naval agreement was at first submitted to Washington, although the provisions regarding land forces may have been sent to other Powers. Both Governments concerned, and particularly the British, have been under heavy fire, not only from the opposition, but from their own supporters as well, because of their refusal to give complete publicity to the terms of the agreement. Their reply that, unless it met with the approval of the interested Powers, it would not be carried into effect, has not been given full credence, and has not dispelled the uneasiness, particularly in Italy and Germany. Although a summary of the naval provisions was sent to our Government late in July, no reply was received until Sept. 26. Its text, released by the Department of State two days later, will be found at the end of this article.

Despite the refusal of our Government

to accept the principles involved in the agreement, the note itself had a most favorable reception both in London and Paris. It was felt that it opened a way for further discussion and suggested a line along which it would be well to explore. There was less satisfaction with the announcement that, despite the Pact of Paris renouncing war, there would be no change in our policy regarding naval construction.

The Japanese reply to the communication was generally favorable, but that of Italy, published on Oct. 8, raised difficult issues. She affirmed the interdependence of all forms of armament, stated that she was "willing, *a priori*, to accept as the limit of her armament any figure, even the lowest, provided that this is not exceeded by any continental European country"; declared for the method of limitation by total tonnage rather than by categories, and expressed her willingness to support any scheme acceptable to the Powers that would tend toward the consolidation and reconstruction of Europe. The stipulation of naval equality is particularly disagreeable to France, which claims the right to



CLUBS ARE NEEDED TO COPE WITH CROOKS

—New York American

equal strength in the Mediterranean, plus sea power on the Atlantic capable of defending her coast and her colonies.

The debates on disarmament before the Assembly led to no very satisfactory conclusion. A meeting of the Preparatory Commission had been tentatively scheduled for November, but the uncertainty throughout most of the session as to the exact nature of our attitude toward the Anglo-French agreement and the knowledge that, until after the Presidential election, our Government could not act with full freedom, caused the delegates to fear that, prematurely held, another stalemate would result. Loudon of Holland, the Chairman of the Preparatory Commission, urged that before another session there should be a private conference of the naval Powers in Paris, but the suggestion met with small

favor. Count von Bernstorff, the German delegate, strove to secure the establishment of an early date for the summoning of the Disarmament Conference, without regard for the Preparatory Commission, but he did not succeed. As finally passed, the resolution called for a meeting early in 1929.

The closing session of the League Council on Sept. 26 directed the Secretary General of the League to communicate to all its members and to the States outside the text of a draft treaty providing for the extension of the Pact of Paris by the acceptance of a general obligation of arbitration. The agreement on the terms of this treaty, despite the fact that the British vote was withheld, is regarded at Geneva as one of the most important results of the Ninth Assembly. At the time of writing the text had not been published in this country.

TEXT OF AMERICAN NOTE ON FRANCO-BRITISH NAVAL AGREEMENT

THE following is the text of the identical note, delivered to the Foreign Offices in London and Paris on Sept. 28, 1928, in which the United States Government rejected the Franco-British agreement on naval limitation as a basis for the discussion of that subject:

The Government of the United States has received from his Majesty's Government a communication summarizing the understanding reached between the British and French Governments as to a basis of naval limitation, which agreement, it is stated, will be submitted to the next meeting of the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference.

The Government of the United States is willing to submit certain suggestions as to the basis of naval limitations as summarized in the British note. From the communication of the British Government it appears that:

The limitations which the Disarmament Conference will have to determine will deal with four classes of men-of-war:

(1) Capital ships, i. e., ships of over 10,000 tons or with guns of more than eight-inch calibre.

(2) Aircraft carriers of over 10,000 tons.

(3) Surface vessels of or below 10,000 tons, armed with guns of more than six-inch and up to eight-inch calibre.

(4) Ocean-going submarines over 600 tons.

As the Washington Treaty regulates the first two classes, that is, capital ships and aircraft-carriers, the Preparatory Commission will have to consider only the last two categories, so far as the signatories of that treaty are concerned.

From the foregoing summary of the agree-

ment it appears that the only classes of naval vessels which it is proposed to limit under the Franco-British draft agreement are cruisers of or below 10,000 tons, armed with guns of more than six-inch and up to eight-inch calibre, and submarines of over 600 tons.

The position of the Government of the United States has been and now is that any limitation of naval armament to be effective should apply to all classes of combatant vessels. The Franco-British agreement provides no limitation whatsoever on six-inch gun cruisers, or destroyers, or submarines of 600 tons or less. It could not be claimed that the types of vessels thus left without limitation are not highly efficient fighting ships. No one would deny that modern cruisers armed with six-inch guns, or destroyers similarly armed, have a very high offensive value, especially to any nation possessing well-distributed bases in various parts of the world. In fact, such cruisers constitute the largest number of fighting ships now existing in the world.

The limitation of only such surface vessels as are restricted in Class 3 of the draft agreement, that is, cruisers of or below 10,000 tons, armed with guns of more than six-inch and up to eight-inch calibre, would be the imposition of restrictions only on types peculiarly suited to the needs of the United States. The United States cannot accept as a distinct class surface combatant vessels of or below 10,000 tons, armed with guns of more than six-inch and up to eight-inch calibre. It is further clearly apparent that limitation of this type only would add enormously to the comparative offensive power of a nation possessing a large merchant tonnage on which preparation may be made in time of peace for mounting six-inch guns.

At the Three-Power Conference in Geneva in 1927 the British delegation proposed that cruisers be thus divided into two classes: Those carrying eight-inch guns and those carrying guns of six inches or less in calibre. They proposed further that eight-inch guns be limited to a small number or to a small total tonnage limitation and that the smaller class of cruisers carrying six-inch guns or less be permitted a much larger total tonnage, or, what amounts to the same thing, to a very large number of cruisers of this class.

The limitation proposed by the British delegation on this smaller class of cruisers was so high that the American delegation considered it, in effect, no limitation at all. This same proposal is now presented in a new and even more objectionable form, which still limits large cruisers which are suitable to American needs, but frankly places no limitation whatever on cruisers carrying guns of six inches or less in calibre. This proposal is obviously incompatible with the American position at the Three-Power Conference. It is even more unacceptable than the proposal put forward by the British delegation at the conference, not only because it puts the United States at a decided disadvantage but also because it discards altogether the principle of limitation as applied to important combatant types of vessels.

Much of what has been said above as to vessels in Class 3 of the Franco-British agreement applies with equal or greater force to Class 4. The American Government cannot accept as a distinct class of submarine those of over 600 tons, leaving unlimited all submarines of 600 tons or under. Six-hundred-ton submarines are formidable combatant vessels. They carry the same torpedoes as carried by larger submarines and of equal destructive force within the radius of their operation. They can also be armed with guns of five-inch calibre. The United States would gladly, in conjunction with all the nations of the world, abolish the submarine altogether. If, however, submarines must be continued as instruments of naval warfare, it is the belief of the American Government that they should be limited to a reasonable tonnage or number.

If there is to be further limitation upon the construction of war vessels so that competition in this regard between nations may be stopped, it is the belief of the United States that it should include all classes of combatant vessels—submarines as well as surface vessels.

The Government of the United States has earnestly and consistently advocated real reduction and limitation of naval armament. It has given its best efforts toward finding acceptable methods of attaining this most desirable end. It would be happy to continue such efforts, but it cannot consent to proposals which would leave the door wide open to unlimited building of certain types of ships of a highly efficient combatant value and would impose restrictions only on types peculiarly suitable to American needs.

The American Government seeks no special advantage on these, but clearly cannot permit itself to be placed in a position of manifest disadvantage. The American Government feels, furthermore, that the terms of the Franco-British draft agreement, in

leaving unlimited so large a tonnage and so many types of vessels, would actually tend to defeat the primary objective of any disarmament conference for the reduction or the limitation of armament in that it would not eliminate competition in naval armament and would not effect economy. For all these reasons the Government of the United States feels that no useful purpose would be served by accepting as a basis of discussion the Franco-British proposal.

The American Government has no objection to any agreement between France and Great Britain which those countries think will be to their advantage and in the interest of limitation of armament, but naturally cannot consent that such an agreement should be applied to the United States.

In order to make quite clear that, in declining to adopt the Franco-British agreement as a basis for discussion of naval limitation, it seems appropriate briefly to review the attitude of the United States regarding the methods of limitation in order to show that the American Government has consistently favored a drastic proportional limitation. The success of the Washington conference is known to all. It strictly limited all combatant ships and aircraft carriers of over 10,000 tons. In order to bring about such limitation the American Government made great sacrifices in the curtailment of plans of building and in the actual destruction of ships already built. At the first session of the preparatory conference the American Government submitted proposals which were consistently adhered to at subsequent meetings:

- (1) That the total tonnage allowed in each class of combatant vessel be prescribed.

- (2) That the maximum tonnage of a unit and the maximum calibre of gun allowed for each class be prescribed.

- (3) That, so long as the total tonnage allowed to each class is not exceeded, the actual number of units may be left to the discretion of each Power concerned.

Within this general plan the American proposal at the Geneva conference was, for the United States and the British Empire, a total tonnage limitation in the cruiser class of from 250,000 to 300,000 tons and for Japan from 150,000 to 180,000; for the destroyer class, for the United States and the British Empire, from 200,000 to 250,000, and for Japan from 120,000 to 150,000 tons; for the submarine class, for the United States and the British Empire, 60,000 to 90,000 tons, and for Japan 36,000 to 54,000 tons. It was further stated by the American delegation that if any Power represented felt justified in proposing still lower tonnage levels for auxiliary craft the American Government would welcome such a proposal.

The purpose of these proposals was that there might be no competition between the three Powers in the building of naval armament, that their respective navies should be maintained at the lowest level compatible with national security and should not be of the size and character to warrant the suspicion of aggressive intent, and, finally, that a wise economy dictates that further naval construction be kept to a minimum.

The Government of the United States remains willing to use its best efforts to obtain a basis of further naval limitation satisfactory to all the naval Powers, including those not represented at the Three-

Power Conference in Geneva, and is willing to take into consideration in any conference the special needs of France, Italy or any other naval Power for the particular class of vessels deemed by them most suitable for their defense. This could be accomplished by permitting any of the Powers to vary the percentage of tonnage in classes within the total tonnage; a certain percentage to be agreed upon. If there was an increase in one class of vessels it should be deducted from the tonnage to be used in other classes. A proposal along these lines made by France

and discussed by the American and French representatives would be sympathetically considered by the United States. It expects on the part of others, however, similar consideration for its own needs. Unfortunately the Franco-British agreement appears to fulfill none of the conditions which, to the American Government, seem vital. It leaves unlimited a very large class of effective fighting ships, and this very fact would inevitably lead to a recrudescence of naval competition disastrous to national economy.

The League of Nations Month by Month

By ARTHUR SWEETSER

NEVER have so many important international questions centred in or converged upon Geneva as this past month. Though September, with the coming together of many eminent statesmen for the annual Assembly of the League of Nations, has now become the world's busiest diplomatic period, this year proved exceptional in adding to the usual review of League activities a series of most vital world problems.

The Kellogg Pact, signed but six days before the Assembly, played in and out through its debates; the relationship of the Monroe Doctrine to the League was explained by the Council; the Rhineland and reparations discussions were initiated in Geneva by the German Chancellor; the Franco-British naval accord reacted powerfully on the disarmament discussions; the Permanent Court saw the election of Charles Evans Hughes as a Judge and the question of advisory opinions and the revision of the Statute; the Chinese problem was touched upon in China's claim for reelection to the Council; while in the field of current activities several new projects were initiated.

The results are peculiarly hard to assess. Undoubtedly there was progress in some lines and retrogression in others. The Rhineland situation probably went ahead, for at least formal and direct negotiations have been opened; the methods of peaceful settlement were advanced through intensive new studies; while the disarmament situation probably went behind, because of the rift, on the one hand, between the United

States and the other Powers on naval matters, and, on the other, between France and Germany on military matters. On the whole, the month showed the normal progress in current work and a period of suspense on major work, with the nations waiting to see, first, whether the Rhineland beginnings merit continuance; second, whether the United States will complete the Kellogg pact; and third, whether the naval disarmament situation is really so inflexible as appears. The Ninth Assembly, then, saw neither great success nor great failure, but again confirmed the opinion that the League system has now become an integral part of international life.

The Monroe Doctrine—Among the two-score questions on the Council agenda at the beginning of the month was Costa Rica's thorny request, as a precedent to her return to League membership, for a definition of the Monroe Doctrine reference in Article 21 of the Covenant. This question, long a burning one throughout Latin America, was given deep consideration. Eventually the Council unanimously agreed that Article 21, purposely made to follow the Article abrogating all obligations inconsistent with the Covenant, merely assured contracting States that agreements for the maintenance of peace would not be affected by accession to the Covenant; that the Article refers only to the relations of the Covenant with such engagements and does not weaken or limit any of the safeguards in the Covenant; that its insertion was definitely stated at the time not to give any sanction or validity to such engagements not previously possessed;

and that all members of the League have equal rights and equal obligations. That this reply removed doubts was shown both by the acceptance of the three Latin-American members of the Council and by the telegram of the Costa Rican Foreign Minister that he had recommended the resumption of League membership.

The Ninth Assembly—The largest attendance of any of the annual sessions of the League yet held featured in the Ninth Assembly, which sat from Sept. 3 to Sept. 26 under the Presidency of Mr. Zahle of Denmark. Fifty nations were represented, including Spain, which returned to membership after its notice of withdrawal two years ago; a fifty-first, the Argentine, was represented by an observer; another, Costa Rica, signified its intention to return. In the same way the importance of the delegates representing the various countries maintained the steady upward trend of recent years, with six Prime Ministers and eighteen Foreign Ministers present.

The Rhineland Discussions—The German Chancellor, the Foreign Ministers of Great Britain and France, and the representatives of Italy and Japan entered into the first direct round-table discussions of the vital questions of the evacuation of the Rhineland and the future of the reparations problem. Progress was made not only in the capital fact itself that at last the essential negotiations have begun but also in the clear statement of the points at issue and agreement on certain principles.

Kellogg-Briand Treaty—During the general debate occupying the first week of the Assembly, speaker after speaker, over a score in fact, rendered homage to this new pact and stressed its profound possibilities for the abolition of the dreaded war system. That they did not go even further, that they continued cautiously on with more detailed and less ambitious work looking to the same end, was due solely to unfortunate hesitations they have come by experience to feel regarding the completion of American action.

Disarmament — Directly counter, of course, to the Kellogg-Briand treaty was all the dislocation caused in disarmament work, first by the rift between the United States and the other nations following the Anglo-French accord, and, second, by the

unexpectedly sharp divergence between France and Germany on land disarmament as shown in the Müller-Briand and Bernstorff-Boncour debates before the Assembly. The early mystery surrounding the Anglo-French accord, the somewhat painful steps leading to its publication, and the first apparently violent reaction from Washington left the Assembly with but little hope of progress in naval matters, while Chancellor Müller's strong demands concerning land disarmament, M. Briand's unexpectedly strong rejoinder, and Germany's final abstention from the disarmament resolutions left similarly little hope for progress on the military side. Nevertheless, the Assembly stated its determination that progress must be made, issued an emphatic appeal to all Powers to hasten on with the work, took the necessary administrative steps for a disarmament conference next year, and requested the President of the Preparatory Commission to maintain close touch with the nations concerned so that the commission might meet again at the end of the present year or at all events at the beginning of 1929.

Prevention of War—If disarmament did not advance at the Ninth Assembly, progress was nevertheless made in connection with peaceful settlement. First of all, the three model multilateral treaties on arbitration and conciliation were welded together into one General Act, which it is hoped may become a sort of world juridical charter. The document aims to comprise all the most advanced methods of peaceful settlement, so arranged that each State may subscribe the various sections which conform to its views. The Assembly further approved three treaties on non-aggression and mutual assistance, suggested that the Council offer its good offices to States desiring them, approved the German suggestions concerning a model treaty for strengthening the means of preventing war, further expedited the matter of financial assistance to States victims of aggression, and considered two alternative schemes for providing the League with a wireless station to assure communication in case of emergency.

Permanent Court and International Law—Three important steps were taken in connection with the Permanent Court of Inter-

national Justice which may have an indirect effect on America's relationship to the Court. First, following the resignation of John Bassett Moore as a Judge, the great majority of the national groups nominated Charles Evans Hughes to succeed him and the Assembly and the Council of the League overwhelmingly confirmed the choice. Second, in view of eight years' experience and of the renewal of the Judges in 1930, the Assembly initiated steps to consider what, if any, revisions of the statute experience had shown desirable. Third, the vexed question as to whether unanimity or majority is needed to ask an advisory opinion of the Court, now practically the only obstacle to America's membership, was formally tabled for consideration, though immediate action is not expected. Moreover, Spain and Hungary signed the compulsory jurisdiction clause and the Assembly elaborated plans to secure its universal acceptance. Finally, in the field of international law the Assembly definitely fixed the First Codification Conference for the Hague in 1930,

unless postponement of the Disarmament Conference made it possible to advance it somewhat.

Other Questions—Apart from these main questions, a host of others were brought under review and certain new work started.

In the social field the question of alcoholism, which had caused such heartburnings in previous years, secured unanimous agreement on two technical points: the abuse of alcohol going to the Health Committee and smuggling to the Economic. In the field of drugs a new inquiry into the control of opium smoking in the Far East was authorized and the work of the Opium Committee approved. As regards traffic in women and children, the licensed house system was again condemned and the employment of women police recommended.

The United States, though represented in much of the preliminary work leading to the Assembly and affected by many of its results, took no part in these discussions.

Geneva, Sept. 27, 1928.

THE UNITED STATES

Religion and Prohibition as Issues in the Presidential Election

By ALBERT BUSHNELL HART

WITH the development of the Presidential election campaign during the past month it became evident that what is called the "religious issue" was being brought to the fore and becoming hopelessly entangled with the question of prohibition. Broadly speaking, the discussion took on two distinct aspects—opposition to a Roman Catholic as President on purely religious grounds, and appeals to organized Protestant groups by clergy and laymen to defeat Governor Smith because of his program of modifying Prohibition.

According to the newspapers, thousands of dollars were being spent to print and circulate throughout the country anti-Catholic propaganda painting in vivid colors the dangers of "Romanism." "The country," said John W. Davis on Oct. 11, "is being

strewn with cards and pamphlets, in many cases of a scurrilous and unmailable character. Lurid posters are distributed illustrating the bodily tortures which Protestants may expect at Catholic hands." Naturally statistics on the number of pamphlets are not available; nor have contributors to the funds revealed themselves.

Equally hard to gauge was the strength of anti-Catholic sentiment, both frank and surreptitious, which expert political observers reported particularly in the middle Western and Southern States such as Missouri, Oklahoma, Tennessee, Kentucky and Virginia. Arguments for voting against a Catholic for President ranged all the way from the pulpit utterance of the Oklahoma preacher who is reported to have declared, "If you vote for Al Smith, you're



HISTORIC TABLETS OF THE HYPO-THEITICAL FUTURE
—New York Herald Tribune

voting against Christ, and you'll all be damned," to the protest of the Lutheran editors who, in a resolution, based their objection to a Catholic in the White House on the so-called conflict between allegiance to the State and to the Pope. This is substantially the issue raised by Charles C. Marshall in his open letter to Governor Smith, who replied to it in detail in the *Atlantic Monthly* of May, 1927.

In the wake of Methodist Bishops, Mouzon, Moore, Cannon and Du Bose, who on July 26 called upon the members of their Church to oppose the election of an "enemy of national Prohibition," came Dr. Hugh K. Walker, Moderator of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church. "The plain duty of every churchman," said Dr. Walker in the *Presbyterian Magazine*, "is to work and pray and vote for the election of Herbert Hoover. * * * We will fight to the bitter end the election of Alfred E. Smith, not because he is a member of the Catholic Church; * * * but because he has gone out of his way to announce himself as the implacable foe of things that

we count most dear"—namely Prohibition. Mrs. Mabel Walker Willebrandt, Assistant Attorney General of the United States, on Sept. 8 urged the Ohio Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church actively to fight for the enforcement of Prohibition and against the election of Governor Smith.

These and many other similar appeals of clergy and laymen for a sectarian vote in favor of Mr. Hoover because of the Prohibition issue aroused a storm of indignation. Dr. Walker was severely and publicly censured for "overstepping his authority as Moderator" by Dr. Henry Sloane Coffin, President of the Union Theological Seminary of New York, by Dr. Henry van Dyke, former Moderator, and by *The Presbyterian*, a weekly periodical. A general rebuke, which did not mention Dr. Walker specifically, came from Dr. Lewis Mudge, stated clerk of the General Presbyterian Assembly, who, in a letter published on Oct. 13, said: "It is important that the historic position of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America with reference to the relations between Church and State should be maintained at all times." General consternation followed Mrs. Willebrandt's continued anti-Smith speeches before church groups, and a number of Republicans maintained that they were injur-



UP FROM THE CITY STREETS
—Montgomery Advertiser

ing Mr. Hoover's cause. However, when press representatives inquired as to Mrs. Willebrandt's exact status in the campaign, Walter H. Newton, Chairman of the Republican Speakers' Bureau, affirmed her authority as an authorized speaker under that bureau.

Meanwhile Mrs. Willebrandt pursued her cause with energy, and drew vigorous protests from Democratic spokesmen. For example, *The New York World* said editorially: "The Republican Party is committed [in recognizing Mrs. Willebrandt as an official speaker] to the doctrine that a candidate for the office of President of the United States may ask for partisan sectarian support. It is one of the most sinister and dangerous precedents ever established in this country. It is pregnant with incalculable evil. For when a political party officially allies itself with organized church bodies, something far worse than casual bigotry ensues. That worse thing is the deepening of political divisions along the lines of religious differences. * * *

An appeal to organized churches to align themselves with a political party, no matter what the motive, the reason or the



THE 1928 VERSION
—*Christian Science Monitor*, Boston

purpose is un-American and evil." Many prominent laymen joined with the press in deploring the intrusion of religion into the campaign, among them Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, Owen D. Young, Ralph Adams Cram, John W. Davis, Franklin D. Roosevelt and Governor Ritchie of Maryland.

Naturally, the public waited anxiously to hear what the two candidates had to say. Although Mr. Hoover's associates, notably Dr. Work and National Committeeman Charles D. Hilles were specific in repudiating support based on bigotry, Mr. Hoover evidently did not at first feel it necessary to reiterate his statement in his notification speech of Aug. 11, that "by blood and conviction I stand for religious tolerance both in act and spirit." However, on Sept. 29, after a Southern Republican National Committeewoman had warned against a "Romanized and rum-ridden" country, he issued a brief statement that he "could not reiterate too strongly that religious questions have no part in this campaign," adding, "I have repeatedly stated that neither I nor the Republican Party want support on that basis."

Governor Smith chose the occasion of his appearance in Oklahoma City on Sept. 20 openly to challenge those who assailed him because of his religious faith. Referring



It will take more than one bucket of paint to blot out that background

—*New York Herald Tribune*

to the Republican Party's countenancing of Mrs. Willebrandt's activities, the Governor said:

I haven't heard any of them disclaim responsibility for what Mrs. Willebrandt said. She is a Deputy Attorney General of the United States. She went before the Methodist Conference of Methodist preachers and said to them: "There are 600,000 of you Methodists in Ohio alone, enough to put this election over. Write to your people."

There is separation of Church and State for you!

Let me ask you in all candor and in all frankness—and you don't need to answer it except by looking at me with a smile (that's what you will have to do): What would be said around this country if a member of my Cabinet, if an attaché of the Democratic Administration at Albany, were to appear before a convention of Roman Catholic clerics and make that kind of a statement?

Let me make myself perfectly clear. I do not want any Catholic in the United States of America to vote for me on the 6th of November because I am a Catholic.

If any Catholic in this country believes that the welfare, the well-being, the prosperity, the growth and the expansion of the United States is best conserved and best promoted by the election of Mr. Hoover, I want him to vote for Hoover and not for me.

But, on the other hand, I have the right to say that any citizen of this country that



AND NOW THE CAMPAIGN HIGHBALL
—New York Herald Tribune

believes I can promote its welfare, that I am capable of steering the ship of State safely through the next four years, then votes against me because of my religion, he is not a real, pure, genuine American.

Realizing the possibility that, because of the peculiar issues of this campaign, the West might depart from its traditional Republicanism and the South from its invariable Democratic allegiance, both candidates undertook "invasions" of enemy territory. Governor Smith's speech just quoted was the second of six delivered by him during an extensive tour of the West in the last two weeks of September. Appearing first at Omaha on Sept. 18, the Governor spoke on the farm problem, enlarging on his previous recommendations and scoring the Republicans for inaction during the last eight years and for lack of a constructive plan.

Water power, which also became a heated issue, was discussed by Governor Smith at Denver on Sept. 22. He expanded his already-known views that power resources, notably Boulder Dam and Muscle Shoals, be owned, controlled and operated by the Government, whether Federal, State or inter-State. He took up the facts recently brought to light by the Federal Trade Com-



THE LADIES, GOD BLESS 'EM
—The Baltimore Sun



"TAMMANY!"
A group of G. O. P. angels

—New York World

mission in regard to the existence of a power lobby and widespread propaganda by utility corporations, in the press and in schools, against Government ownership. Republican corruption in the oil deals, the Veterans' Bureau and the handling of alien property were dealt with by Governor Smith at Helena, Mont., two days later. On Sept. 27 at St. Paul, he accused the present Administration of lack of constructive leadership in dealing with its major problems; and finally, at Milwaukee on Sept. 30, he painted a picture of the abuses of Prohibition and "the result of this condition upon the youth of the country, upon the officials of the Government and upon the general disrespect for law engendered by it." Returning to Rochester, N. Y., on Oct. 1, he addressed the Democratic State Convention there on local issues and used his influence to persuade his friend Franklin D. Roosevelt to accept the Democratic nomination for Governor.

During this time Mr. Hoover made only two extended speeches, one on the prosperity of labor, the other on general issues.

At Newark, on Sept. 17, he told what the Republican Administrations had done to remedy unemployment, described the benefits to labor of the Republican tariff and made the following plea for the continuance of the present policies as a guarantee of future prosperity:

At such a time as this a change in national policies involves not—as some may lightly think—only a choice between different roads by either of which we may go forward, but a question also as to whether we may not be taking the wrong road and moving backward. The measure of our national prosperity, of our stability, of our hope of further progress at this time is the measure of what we may risk through a change in present policies. More than once in our national history a change in policies in a time of advancement has been quickly followed by a turn toward disaster.

"I realize that I come here as a candidate of a political party with whose policies many of you within my sight and many within the sound of my voice have often differed." Thus Mr. Hoover addressed the citizens of Elizabethton, Tenn., on Oct. 6. His speech touched on many subjects contained in the Republican platform and

others of especial interest to the South, among them the growth of Southern industries and the need of tariff protection. Mr. Hoover expressed his eagerly awaited views on power development as follows:

I do not favor any general extension of the Federal Government into the operation of business in competition with its citizens. * * *

Violations of public interest by individuals or corporations should be followed by the condemnation and punishment they deserve, but this should not induce us to abandon progressive principles and substitute in their place deadly and destructive doctrines. There are local instances where the Government must enter the business field as a by-product of some great major purpose such as improvement in navigation, flood control, scientific research or national defense, but they do not vitiate the general policy to which we should adhere.

Although no reference by name was made in this speech, Mr. Hoover, when asked by the editor of the Knoxville *News-Sentinel* whether the last sentence quoted could be interpreted to mean Muscle Shoals, replied: "You may say that means Muscle Shoals." This statement first appeared in the *News-Sentinel* of Oct. 7, and would commit Mr. Hoover to Government operation of the power plant, a policy firmly opposed by President Coolidge. In fact, it caused him



THE BATTLE IS ON
—Portland Press Herald



"This will make you efficient, my boy"
—New York World

to pocket veto the Norris bill last June.

Following his opponent into Tennessee a week later, Governor Smith discussed the same issue on Oct. 12, at Nashville, where he established the precedent of being the first Democratic candidate to campaign in the South since the Civil War. He confessed himself puzzled as to Mr. Hoover's stand as expressed in the Elizabethton speech, and by the use of the phrase "deadly and destructive doctrines."

What does this mean? What doctrine did he have in his mind that is deadly and destructive? If we are talking water power development, my guess is as good as anybody else's and I hazard the guess that he had in his mind Government ownership and Government control. He could not be thinking about anything else, because it links in with the necessity of the Government going into business for a by-product, while electric energy at Muscle Shoals is the real product.

Government control and operation, Governor Smith repeated, was the nucleus of his own policy.

At Louisville, on Oct. 13, Governor Smith undertook to refute Republican speakers all over the country who have been predicting that a Democratic Administration would lower the tariff with dire consequences. He summed up his tariff creed in the following manner:

I believe that the tariff should be taken out of politics and should be treated as a

business and economic problem. I am opposed to politics in tariff making.

I believe in the Democratic platform which recognizes that the high wages and constructive policies established by Woodrow Wilson and the business prosperity resulting from them in America, coupled with the economic ruin of the rest of the world, brought about a new condition that committed the Democratic Party to a stand in favor of such tariff schedules as will to the very limit protect legitimate business enterprise as well as American labor from ruinous competition of foreign-made goods produced under conditions far below the American standard.

I condemn the Republican policy of leaving the farmer outside our protective walls. On import crops he must be given equal protection with that afforded industry. On his other products means must be adopted to give him as well as industry the benefit of tariff protection. * * *

No revision of any specific schedule will have the approval of the Democratic Party which in any way interferes with the American standard of living and level of wages. In other words, I say to the American workman that the Democratic Party will not do a single thing that will take from his weekly pay envelope a 5-cent piece. * * *

I favor a tariff commission made up as hereafter referred to with ample facilities and resources, with broadened powers, and with provision for the prompt and periodical publication of its reports, which shall be in such form as to present serviceable and practical information.

I consider the method of general tariff revision to be inherently unsound and I definitely pledge that the only change I will consider in the tariff will be specific revisions in specific schedules, each considered on its own merits on the basis of investigation by an impartial tariff committee and a careful hearing before Congress of all concerned.

Reports of unparalleled registration figures from all over the country were seized upon by leaders of both parties as "cheering." The *Literary Digest's* straw vote, which four years ago predicted with remarkable accuracy the outcome of the Coolidge-Davis election, on Oct. 5 indicated that Mr. Hoover would receive 68 per cent. of the total vote. The *New York Times*, however, interpreted the returns as favorable to Smith, as they showed that of Smith's total, more than 43 per cent. had voted Republican in 1924, while only 10 per cent. of Hoover's vote went to Davis at the last election. In other words, the figures would show that there are more "bolters" for Smith.

That interest in the campaign became more intense during September was shown by the rapid increase in campaign funds. The Republicans collected \$1,074,870, which



THE SNIPER

—The New York Times

brought their total to \$1,733,289. On Oct. 1 the Democratic fund had reached \$1,392,290.

THE PRESIDENT BACK AT WASHINGTON

Emerging bronzed and fit from the pines of Brule, Wis., the President and Mrs. Coolidge returned to Washington on Sept. 12 and were greeted at the station by Mr. and Mrs. Hoover, Secretary and Mrs. Kellogg and other members of the Cabinet. A few days later they left for a brief trip to their home in Vermont.

Although deeply interested in the trend of the campaign, as his constant conferences with Republican leaders testified, the President evidently felt that Mr. Hoover's case could rest on the record of the present Administration, for he did not yield to the entreaties of Dr. Work and others that he should support Mr. Hoover and reply to Democratic attacks by campaign speeches. In an address before the General Triennial Convention of the Episcopal Church in Washington on Oct. 10, he said:

Organized government and organized society have done much and can do much. Their efforts will always be necessary, but without the inspiration of faith, without devotion to religion, they are inadequate to serve the needs of mankind. * * *

We cannot remind ourselves too often that our right to be free, the support of our principles of justice, our obligations to each other in our domestic affairs and our duty to humanity abroad, the confidence in each

other necessary to support our social and economic relations, and finally the fabric of our Government itself, all rest on religion. Its importance cannot be stressed too often or emphasized too much. If the bonds of our religious convictions become loosened, the guaranties which have been erected for the protection of life and liberty and all that vast body of rights that lie between are gone.

On April 1 last, 27,000 workers of the New Bedford Textile unions went on strike as a protest against a 10 per cent. wage reduction contemplated by their employers. They remained on strike until Oct. 6 when the seven unions of the Textile Council voted to return to work with a 5 per cent. pay reduction, coupled with the assurance that thirty days' notice would be given before any future wage revision. Early attempts at reconciliation had failed and hostile demonstrations occurred in July, resulting in a number of arrests. The settlement was finally effected by the Massachusetts Board of Conciliation and Arbitration after it had conducted a thorough investigation of the financial status of the mills. The losses to the workers and manufacturers during the six months of the strike were estimated at \$1,000,000 a week.

A storm, bringing disaster beside which

the Mississippi floods of last year pale, reduced the Virgin Islands, the French West Indies, Porto Rico and parts of southern Florida to ruins during the week of Sept. 13.

Sweeping northwest the tornado struck Florida on Sept. 16. There more than 1,500 lives were lost, and the total dead will never be known. The Red Cross immediately rushed relief to the stricken area to cope with the inevitable famine and disease which followed the disaster. By Sept. 29 the results of the hurricane were summarized by the Red Cross as follows: Total amount contributed to the relief fund, \$3,257,500; number of victims still dependent for daily sustenance, more than 500,000; known dead in Florida, more than 1,500; homeless in Florida, 15,000; in Porto Rico, 400,000; injured in Florida, 185; in Porto Rico, 2,771; ill in Florida, 191; in Porto Rico, 20,000.

J. R. McVey, Assistant American Trade Commissioner at San Juan, reported that Porto Rico was in a state of "physical and economic ruin and badly shaken morale." Before the hurricane the economic situation was bad, and the almost complete destruction of the coffee crop left the island in desperate straits.

Porto Rico's Devastation by the Recent Hurricane

By J. ENAMORADO CUESTA

MEMBER OF THE STAFF OF *El Dia*; FORMERLY OF THE UNITED STATES CUSTOMS SERVICE IN PORTO RICO

THE hurricane which, after entering the Caribbean between the French islands of Martinique and Dominica, swept over the Virgin Islands and Porto Rico on Sept. 12 and 13 last, and which, on its northwestward course, hit also Turks Islands, the Bahamas and wound up on the Florida coast, was one of the most terrific ever brewed on the cyclonic belt of the tropics. Over 200 dead and 2,000 wounded people is the toll paid in life and limb by Porto Rico, while there are over 400,000 homeless, according to a preliminary estimate made by police and Red

Cross officers. As regards the loss to the crops and to property, they are proportionally appalling.

The hurricane, having traversed the island on a nearly straight line from southeast to northwest, struck, nevertheless, all sections, coastal and mountain as well, although the loss in the mountainous interior regions, both in life and in property, is by far greater than it is on the coast, while the eastern and central regions seem to have borne the full force of the storm. According to a rough estimate made by the Commissioner of Agriculture, based on

data obtained from the associations of coffee, sugar cane and fruit growers, and on personal observation by department officers, the percentage of loss to the island's staple crops is as follows:

Sugar cane.....	30
Coffee	80
Tobacco	50
Citrus fruit.....	90

The total loss to agriculture and to other rural and urban property is placed by officers of the Departments of Agriculture and Interior at no less than \$100,000,000. Coffee is by far the hardest hit of all the staples, no matter what the respective figures may show. The loss of sugar cane, for instance, as compared to it, is almost negligible. With a possible loss of 30 per cent. to this year's crop, which was estimated at over three-quarters of a million tons of sugar, we must remember that the cane takes only a few months to grow and produce. The same is true as regards tobacco. On the other hand, the loss of this year's coffee crop, large as it is, is as nothing compared to the loss to the plantations. As is well known, coffee grows in a shrub, taking in the average from four to five years to grow to a producing size. Then it must be remembered that in Porto Rico coffee is all grown under shade trees, which themselves necessitate from five to ten years to grow to a height sufficient to protect the shrub with their foliage. A conservative estimate places the loss to plantations, in coffee as well as shade trees, at an average of 75 per cent., in many localities the loss being total. So it may be readily seen what the destructive force of the hurricane did to the coffee industry on the island. Conditions in the fruit fields closely approximate the above, although, as the centre of the citrous fruit industry is to the north of the path followed by the centre of the storm, the loss to plantations was by no means as heavy.

This year's coffee crop was estimated at 35,000,000 pounds, with an average export value of \$11,000,000, of which 28,000,000 pounds valued at \$8,800,000, are lost. Add to this the loss to the plantations, and the prospect of four or more fruitless years, and it is no exaggeration to say that the industry is practically ruined. If we consider that coffee is of all our staple prod-

ucts the one most widely distributed as to ownership and the one supporting, with its allied minor crops raised mostly in the plantations, the majority of our peasant population, an approximate idea may be had of what this hurricane means to the finances and future life of the island's people. Many experienced coffee growers believe it will take ten years to grow a normal crop again, and that production for the next four or five years will be very small. Another loss which affects the living conditions of the peasant population is that of the bananas and other small crops on which this class depends for daily support.

The crying need now is for adequate support to the peasant population, that will enable them to rebuild their abodes and take a hand in the work which must be started at once if economic ruin is to be prevented. Relief for the needy has not been late in coming. We hear that the American Red Cross is raising a fund of not less than \$5,000,000 to aid the destitute in Porto Rico and Florida. A Red Cross commission headed by Colonel Baker, Emergency Director of the organization, arrived in a destroyer less than a week after the storm hit the island to study and report conditions, and food stuffs, shelter and medical supplies have already been distributed to the destitute and sick.

But the real need of the island, after the emergency has been attended to and life duly protected, is to obtain long term loans at low rates of interest. Preliminary steps have already been taken in that direction. Governor Towner has appealed to the island's financial institutions as well as to the Federal Government for help of this kind. Private institutions, such as the Chamber of Commerce and the Coffee Growers' and the Farmers' Associations, have done likewise.

The spirit of the population is, on the whole, very good. Even in those towns which suffered most heavily, a few of which were practically destroyed, especially those lying in the direct path of the centre of the storm, people are proceeding to rebuild their homes with what little help they have been furnished. It is common to see along the roads whole families so occupied, even women and children helping.

Portes Gil Elected Provisional President of Mexico

By CHARLES W. HACKETT

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THE election by the Mexican Congress on Sept. 25 of Emilio Portes Gil as Provisional President to succeed President Calles on Dec. 1, was the climax of the political activities that were suddenly set in motion by the assassination of President-elect Obregón on July 17.

Portes Gil's election was preceded and virtually assured by significant and surprising political re-alignments in the Chamber of Deputies. In that body, when Congress assembled on Sept. 1, the Obregonista bloc was dominant under the more or less radical and militant leadership of Ricardo Topete, Aurelio Manrique and Antonio Soto y Gama. Five days later, however, a breach developed among the Obregonistas, and a majority of them deserted Topete and his Agrarian followers, who were supporting General Trevino as candidate for Provisional President, and endorsed Portes Gil, who apparently was the choice of President Calles. At the same time the dissenting Obregonistas called upon Topete, who had been left with fewer than 100 followers, to resign as President of the Chamber, it being alleged that he had condoned affronts in that body to President Calles and that he was endeavoring to have himself elected Provisional President.

Formal endorsement of Portes Gil as Provisional President was made in a resolution that was adopted unanimously by the majority bloc of the Mexican Senate on Sept. 20. The same day a joint committee of eight members, four each from the majority blocs of the House and the Senate, called on President Calles to advise him, so it was reported, of their choice for Provisional President.

At a formal session of the electoral commissions of both houses of Congress on Sept. 24, the late General Obregón was declared to have been elected to the Presidency, and then was declared to be dead—this action being a legal step necessary be-

fore the selection of a Provisional President. The following day at a joint session of both houses of Congress Portes Gil was unanimously elected Provisional President, a total of 277 votes being cast. He will serve from Dec. 1, 1928 to Feb. 5, 1930. A constitutional President will be elected in special general elections to be held in November, 1929; he then will serve for the balance of the full term of six years ending Nov. 30, 1934.

Portes Gil, who is 37 years old, is a civilian, a lawyer, and from 1925 until his recent appointment as Minister of the Interior, was Governor of the State of Tamaulipas. His career and personality are described in a special article published elsewhere in these pages.

In a statement issued to the press after his election Señor Portes Gil said:

My policy will be inspired by the highest principles of social equity and justice. My task will be to continue the policies developed by President Calles in all branches of public administration, and also to procure the fulfillment of the social program outlined by the late General Obregón.

The status of the case of the Government against José de León Toral, confessed murderer of President-elect Obregón, remained unchanged during September while the prisoner's mental condition was being observed. A motion to cancel the orders of arrest under which Mother Superior Concepción and fifteen other defendants are held charged with participation in the murder of General Obregón, was taken under advisement by the Supreme Court on Sept. 25. On Oct. 4 Toral in a letter to his attorney protested against being held in solitary confinement.

On Oct. 4, Mexico City was greatly shocked by news that Umberto Obregón, eldest son of the late President-Elect, had been seriously wounded by a self inflicted shot after attending a ball in the capital. All indications pointed to an attempt at suicide, due to grief over his father's death.

It was reported, however, that the wound would not prove fatal.

The unsolved relations between Church and State continued to claim the attention of Mexican officials during September. By the eleventh of the month the Chamber of Deputies had on the table four distinct memorials on the Catholic question. Congressional leaders were reported on Sept. 20 to have declared that consideration of these petitions was impossible unless the petitioners first publicly condemned the rebellious activities of the elements then in the field against the Government.

In Mexico the task of enforcing the laws relating to religion devolves upon the Ministry of the Interior; on Sept. 17 the new Minister of that secretariat, Emilio Portes Gil, who has since been elected Provisional President, announced that he would "continue to take such steps" as might be necessary to make the religious laws "duly observed throughout the country." The same day orders were issued by the Ministry of the Interior to the Governors of three States to open certain churches which for causes satisfactory to the Government had had their doors sealed. An official denial was made that a general order affecting all churches had been issued. A memorial urging that the recent Catholic petitions be discarded "energetically and definitely" was sent to the Mexican Congress on Sept. 25 by the National Agrarian League. Regulations covering the appointment and functions of the local boards which, in conformity with the laws governing religious activities, will have charge of the Catholic churches throughout Mexico were issued by President Calles through the Ministry of the Interior on Sept. 29.

An appeal that serious consideration be given to a "sincere and respectful petition on behalf of concord and harmony in the Mexican family and to relieve the distressing situation of the Mexican Catholics" was made by Bishop Miguel de la Mora of San Luis Potosí in an open letter to President-elect Portes Gil published on Oct. 2. Another

petition signed by prominent Catholic laymen, was made public on Oct. 6.

Renewal of insurgent activities in the State of Jalisco was reported on Oct. 9; some 300 rebels were dispersed at Aguascalientes Canyon after a severe battle. Other engagements were reported at various points in Jalisco.

Considerable improvement in the condition of Mexico's public finances was claimed by Finance Minister Montes de Oca in his annual report for the fiscal year ending July 31, which was transmitted to President Calles on Sept. 3. The results of a plan were summarized under which the Government's income was estimated at 290,000,000 pesos and its expenditures at 289,838,216 pesos; but in mid September the Finance Minister announced that Mexico during 1929 would have to live on an income of 286,000,000 pesos. Because of a gain of 10,000,000 pesos over estimated receipts for the first half of the year, the Government had begun to pay the salaries of the civil staff. Also there had been paid upward of 30,000,000 pesos on the public indebtedness, interior and exterior.

The text of Mexico's new law creating the "National Economic Council" was published in the *Diario Oficial* late in September. The council thus created is to study "the economic-social affairs of the nation, and shall be a permanent autonomous body of compulsory consultation and free initiative." It is to be composed of representatives of the Ministries of the Interior; Finance and Public Credit; Agriculture and Development; Communications and Public Works; Industry; Health; and National Statistics; and representatives of thirteen other organizations.

Regular air-mail service between Mexico City and the United States and Canada was inaugurated on Oct. 2. The inauguration of the air-mail service was described by President Coolidge in a telegram of congratulations to President Calles on Oct. 1 as "a new bond between Mexico and the United States."

CENTRAL AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN

NICARAGUA—Measures adopted by the National Elections Board to insure order and fairness at the Presidential

elections to be held on Nov. 4 provide for the presence of an American official at each of the 351 voting booths; the counting

of the votes by Americans; and the protection of voters by the Nicaraguan National Guard, 2,000 strong, detachments of which, under the command of American officers, will be stationed at each voting booth. As an added precaution all local police and internal revenue guards have been disbanded and their arms delivered to the National Guard, which will police the entire country until after the elections. Also, the National Elections Board on Sept. 1 placed under lock and seal all liquor warehouses; it also barred the possession or sale of brandy by any one from Sept. 17 until after the elections. At the same time, both parties were guaranteed equal rights to the use of the telegraph lines during the election period—an advantage heretofore enjoyed solely by the party in power. By unanimous vote of the National Elections Board on Sept. 26, the decision was reached to mark with a chemical stain the hand of each voter as he casts his ballot and thereby prevent repeaters in the election.

Brig. Gen. Frank R. McCoy, U. S. A., as head of the American Electoral Mission in Nicaragua is assisted by an Advisory Board composed of Hon. G. K. Pond, Massachusetts State Senator; Dr. Harold W. Dodds, Professor of Politics at Princeton University, and Walter Wilgus, a former Government employe under General Wood in the Philippines. The personnel of the American Electoral Mission in Nicaragua numbers about 600.

Registration of Nicaraguan voters under rules formulated by the National Elections Board, of which General McCoy is Chairman and umpire, began on Sept. 23 and was to continue on four additional and separate days until Oct. 7. At the conclusion of the registration period, official reports sent by General McCoy to Secretary Kellogg, showed that approximately 145,000 Nicaraguans had registered, an increase of 35,000 over the record for 1924. This result is attributed to the measures taken by the United States marines and the Nicaraguan National Guard to protect citizens from political intimidation.

The time limit set by decree of President Díaz for the granting of full and complete amnesty to all Nicaraguan rebels or rebel sympathizers who would surrender voluntarily to the United States ma-

rines in the northern area expired, and the amnesty offer was withdrawn on Sept. 18. From the date of its issuance, three months earlier, a total of 1,755 individuals registered with the marines and were granted amnesty. This absolved them from prosecution of any crime of which they were accused. Despite desertion among the rebel forces, marine aviation squadrons in Nicaragua have been kept busy, according to a report received by the Navy Department on Sept. 21.

A treaty designed to settle a long-standing territorial dispute between Colombia and Nicaragua was signed on March 24 last and made public on Sept. 21. This treaty recognizes Nicaragua's sovereignty over the Mosquito Coast and over Great and Little Corn Islands and Colombia's sovereignty over the islands of San Andrés, Providence, Santa Catalina and all the other islands, islets and keys forming a part of the Archipelego of San Andrés. In addition to settling an old dispute between Colombia and Nicaragua, the treaty has the effect of clarifying the rights to important approaches to the proposed Nicaraguan Canal acquired by the United States under the Bryan-Chamorro Treaty of 1916.

The Keys of Roncador, Quita Sueño and Serrana, the dominion over which is in litigation between Colombia and the United States, were not included in the treaty. This issue, however, was placed on a status quo basis through notes exchanged on April 10 last and made public on Sept. 21. These notes, according to an announcement of the Department of State, provided that

Colombia will refrain from objecting to the maintenance by the United States of the services which it has established or may establish for aids to navigation, and the Government of the United States will refrain from objecting to the utilization by Colombian nationals of the waters appurtenant to the islands for the purpose of fishing.

PANAMA—A ten days' leave of absence from the Presidency requested by President Chiari on account of illness was approved by the Panaman National Assembly on Sept. 7. Tomás Gabriel Duque, first designate, was thereupon called to exercise the authority of President until President Chiari returned. At the same time the Assembly elected three Presidential design-

nates for the next Administration as follows: Dr. Ricardo J. Alfaro, present Minister of Panama in Washington; Dr. Carlos J. López and Don Eduardo Chiari, brother of the present Executive. President-elect Arosemena was inaugurated for the constitutional term beginning Oct. 2.

The re-establishment of diplomatic relations between Panama and Costa Rica, which had been interrupted since 1921 as a result of a boundary dispute, was officially announced on Oct. 1.

GUATEMALA—The suspension of constitutional guarantees because of the alleged seditious activities of the Opposition and its newspapers was decreed for a period of five months by President Chacón on Sept. 26. This action, which is tantamount

to a declaration of martial law, applies to meetings, transportation and the press.

HONDURAS—The withdrawal from the Presidential race of Dr. Ochoa Velasquez, Liberal Party candidate, and General Vicente Tosta, Republican Party candidate, announced on Oct. 9, in favor of Dr. Colindres, Coalition candidate, left the Presidential race to Dr. Colindres and the Nationalists, headed by General Tiburcio Carias.

CUBA—On Oct. 8 the Cuban and American Veterans of the War of 1898 joined hands in reunion at the official opening of the thirtieth annual convention of the United Spanish War Veterans at the National Theatre in Havana. More than 7,000 veterans were present.

SOUTH AMERICA

The Controversy Between the United States And Colombia

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THE controversy between the United States and Colombia over the cancellation of the so-called Barco concession has been one of the more important topics for discussion in the economic and political circles of South America during the past month. The Barco concession—a grant of 5,000,000 acres of oil lands to a group of financiers, most of whom were of the United States, and many of the Gulf Refining Company of Pennsylvania—was canceled by decree of the President of Colombia in March, 1926. The concessionaires memorialized the Colombian Government, pointing out that reasons given in the decree—namely, that the lands had not been developed within the period called for by the contract—were not of a nature to warrant such drastic action. While the Colombian Government did not formally acknowledge the receipt of the memorial, it did make it known that the grounds given in the decree were not the real reasons for the cancellation, but main-

tained that there were grounds which made the cancellation necessary.

The memorialists then took the matter up with the United States Department of State, requesting it to ask permission of the Colombian Government to present another memorial of their grievances. The United States Department of State consented to do so, and in due course of time sent an official note to the Colombian Ministry of Foreign Affairs asking for the desired permission. The request was declined. In addition the Colombian Government denied the right of the United States Government to make such a request, maintaining that the question at issue was one between the Colombian Government and the Barco concessionaires, and that it could not allow intervention in a matter that was wholly a domestic affair. The United States Government replied in a formal note to the Colombian Government expressing surprise at the attitude of the Colombian Govern-

ment, pointing out that such conduct was contrary to the usages of international intercourse between friendly nations. The note further declared that there could be no question of the right of the United States Government to assist and protect its nationals abroad; and that since this was its undoubted right the United States Government would continue to interest itself in the welfare of its nationals in Colombia.

This incident has been of more than ordinary importance, as all such incidents are likely to be. It has been made the excuse for airing the whole policy of the United States toward the republics not only of South America but toward all the republics of the New World. "Yankee imperialism" has been the topic of the hour, and Yankee-phobia has been given expression in no uncertain terms, not only in Colombia but also in Argentina and Chile.

In the meantime we are assured that the Barco incident will not be allowed, at least as far as the Colombian Government is concerned, to affect adversely the friendly relations between it and the United States. It is claimed that there is nothing in the whole affair that cannot be settled amicably and with justice to all. In the meantime the Colombian Government is working on new oil laws, the character of which may not without just reason be affected by the attitude of the United States Government in respect to the Barco concession, for the enthusiastic support given the Administration in its action in refusing to grant the request made by the United States Department of State must be taken as a sign of what is likely to happen in the matter of new oil legislation in that republic.

ARGENTINA—Among the more important topics discussed in Argentina during the past month may be mentioned the signing of the Paris Pact (the Briand-Kellogg treaty), the effort of the proponents of the League of Nations to prevent the Congress from failing to provide for the nation's quota in the budget for the next year, and the preparation for the inauguration of the newly elected President, Señor Irigoyen, on Oct. 12. Argentina has not shown any very great enthusiasm for the Pact of Paris, taking the stand that her attitude toward matters of world peace has been such

as to call for no formal acceptance of a pact to outlaw war. On the other hand, the proceedings in connection with the formal signing of the pact as well as the reservations made by the three great Powers signatory to it have not impressed Argentina to any great degree. Her well known opposition to the inclusion of regional doctrines in the League of Nations Covenant and her demand for a real league of nations must be taken into consideration in judging her caution. It may be said that there is only a slight chance of her adhering to the pact. She is, of course, in good company, as far as South America is concerned, for only Bolivia, Peru, Uruguay and Venezuela have thus far given their formal assent to the document. In the matter of the quota for the expenses of the League of Nations it may be said that, while Argentina has not been actively engaged in any of the major activities of the League since her withdrawal, she has regularly paid her quota. But this year the opponents of the League succeeded in preventing the necessary appropriation for that purpose. Señor Irigoyen, the incoming Chief Executive, is not a proponent of the League of Nations, and may sever all connections with the League as soon as he has taken office.

The Argentine National Agricultural Association on Oct. 7 cabled the Argentine Ambassador at Washington a long list of objections to the proposed increases in the United States import duties on corn and linseed.

The press of Buenos Aires on Oct. 6 unanimously approved the reply of Angel Gallardo, the Foreign Minister, to the Foreign Relations Committee of the House of Deputies, to the effect that Argentina would continue to refuse recognition of the Soviet Government, or to enter into any trade compact with that Government, until it ceased all "propaganda against the social order." Pointing out the danger of recognition, the Foreign Minister added: "It would be much more dangerous to permit the establishment here of legations and trade delegations which in Europe proved to be hotbeds of revolutionary propaganda."

BOLIVIA—Señor Muñoz Reyes, Director General of Mining and Oil of the Bolivian Government, is authority for the state-

ment that experts had reported the discovery of vast oil resources in Eastern Bolivia, and that these resources lie mainly in the districts of Buena Vista, Santa Cruz and Caulican. Several foreign concerns interested in the development of oil resources, including the Standard Oil Company, have begun development of these and other oil resources on a large scale. Señor Reyes is impressed with the prospects of a brilliant oil future for his country. He has no doubt about the future of the industry, and declares that the oil industry is destined to change the whole future of the republic.

BRAZIL—Brazil has made great headway in her fight with the yellow fever and is determined not to relax in her efforts to stamp it out. She has also been concerned to a degree about the coffee situation. There is evidence to support the belief that overproduction of coffee, especially in São Paulo, will definitely affect the price of coffee in spite of the somewhat elaborate system of valorization. There is some uneasiness in circles interested in the stabilization price scheme, for overproduction has a powerful effect on any plan to keep the price of coffee at such a figure as is desired. The situation in São Paulo is serious because of the large increase in coffee production and the failure of the market to increase its demand in proportion to such production. In this State alone—one of the wealthiest and most powerful in all Brazil—the increase in the production of coffee has been enormous. The report of the Coffee Institute for 1927 showed that there were 1,046,532,000 coffee-producing trees in the State; and that there had been a very great increase in the number of coffee trees planted there and also in adjacent States. The coffee crop of the year 1927, known as the 1927-1928 crop, was the largest ever harvested in Brazil, the total amounting to more than 29,000,000 bags.

On Oct. 8 *O Jornal* of Rio de Janeiro carried an editorial warning to Brazil that the Government's policy of withholding coffee from the market was reacting unfavorably abroad, particularly in the United States, where the market was declining, and that the valorization scheme was meeting strong resistance there.

The Fascisti have incurred the displeasure

of the Brazilian public by their acts in support of Fascismo. The Italian consulate and the homes of several of the prominent Italians of São Paulo have been given additional police protection in order to meet any unusual anti-Fascisti demonstrations.

The arrival of three ships from the Ford factories with materials and men to begin the development of Henry Ford's rubber properties in the Amazon basin has aroused added interest in the action of the State of Para in granting this vast concession to Mr. Ford. The fact that the materials brought by these ships were admitted free of duty as per the contract only served to reiterate the old charge that such act of the State Government was a discrimination against the local commercial and industrial interests, and that it was bound to act adversely in the end.

PERU—Emiliano Figueroa, former President of Chile and Chile's first Ambassador to Peru after nearly twenty years, presented his credentials to President Leguía on Oct. 3.

Two other items of interest are reported from Peru. One concerns the elaborate manner in which the silver anniversary of President Augusto B. Leguía's political life was celebrated. The Chamber of Deputies passed a resolution naming him a "Procer of Peru," a designation hitherto held only by a few of the founders and early leaders of the republic. A national holiday was declared and was appropriately celebrated throughout the nation on Sept. 8. The other item concerns the new law which has just been enacted making it easier for the Government to control revolutionary activities by Peruvians both at home and abroad. The law makes it a capital offense punishable by confiscation of property, or a prison sentence of twenty-five years, for any Peruvian found guilty of treasonable acts either in Peru or in foreign countries.

CHILE—The rapprochement between Peru and Chile after twenty years of alienation over the Tacna-Arica controversy, is praised as one of the greatest achievements of the age. Economically both countries are profiting by it, and politically it is bound, so many authorities declare, to bring on a great era of general prosperity for both

countries. For the first time in twenty years a Peruvian diplomatic representative crossed the threshold of the Moneda Palace on Oct. 5 and handed President Ibañez his credentials.

An assurance of early settlement of the Tacna-Arica dispute was derived from a statement made public by the State Department at Washington on Oct. 10, announcing that the Boundary Commission, which has been sitting in New York for the past three years, would suspend its activities for four months, with the consent of both Governments involved.

In internal matters President Ibañez has made it clear that he will not tolerate a return to the old and obsolete parliamentary discussions. He has also announced the new policy to be applied to the teachers in the public school. This is to the effect that all those in the public school service who

are suspected of disloyalty to the Administration of President Ibañez or who display any leaning toward Bolshevism are to be ruthlessly eliminated from the system.

VENEZUELA—Rumors of disorders in Venezuela continue to circulate in spite of strenuous denials. In the meantime new regulations for the better control of the entry of foreigners in that land are announced. This action is deemed necessary to prevent the entry of undesirables into the republic, and will doubtless serve a wholesome purpose. The evidences of economic prosperity continue to multiply. The production of oil goes on with a speed that is astounding. It is now predicted that more than 100,000,000 barrels of oil will be produced this year, thereby placing Venezuela second only to the United States as the greatest oil producing country in the world.

THE BRITISH EMPIRE

Great Britain's Three Parties Define Election Issues

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THE campaign for the British general election of 1929 was definitely inaugurated by the annual conferences of the three parties—Conservative, Liberal and Labor—which were held late in September and early in October. It is generally understood that the election will be held in May or early in June. The Conservative Government can hardly hope to complete even the most necessary portions of its legislative program before then, while to hold the election later would be to bring the final campaign too near harvest time. It was in anticipation of a May or June election that the traditional dates for the beginning and ending of Parliamentary sessions were changed when the prorogation took place early in August. Under the new arrangement the session is to begin in October or November (this year, Nov. 6) instead of in January or early February, and

to terminate in July, or somewhat earlier in the event of a general election.

The outstanding electoral policies of the Conservatives were set forth by Prime Minister Stanley Baldwin at the party conference held at Yarmouth on Sept. 27 and 28. Despite tremendous pressure from the protectionist wing of his party, he definitely refused to go before the country on the issue of a general protective tariff, but he warmly endorsed the protection of particular, vital, national industries against "dumping" from countries in which those industries are carried on by "sweated" labor. He suggested that the Safeguarding of Industries act might be simplified to facilitate applications for protection from industries subject to "unfair" Continental competition. But "safeguarding," Mr. Baldwin declared, "will not be used as a side door or back door by which to introduce a

general tariff until the question of a general tariff has been submitted to the country," adding that "we are agreed that there will be no taxes on food if we are returned to power." This declaration was interpreted, however, as leaving the way open for the protection of the iron and steel industries, inasmuch as they, along with others, would be entitled to tariff support in case they should be able to establish a case for protection under the Safeguarding act. It is upon the question of assistance to these industries that the Conservatives have been sharply divided.

The keynote of the Conservative Party's campaign was struck by the Prime Minister when he declared that "the issue in this campaign is once more the challenge of Socialism against constitutionalism and individualism, and on that issue the British people's vote cannot be doubted." Seeking to range the Liberals alongside the Labor Party on this issue, he further said: "The most the Liberals hope for is the position of a balance of power. The country has a right to ask them before the election whether, if they hold it, they will put the Socialists in office. The Labor Party is still divided, undisciplined, and weakly led, so that the strength of the extremists makes them dangerous."

Mr. Baldwin went on to say that the Government was content to appeal to the people upon the strength of its constructive record, which included the passage of the Widow, Orphans and Old Age Pension act; building 700,000 houses within its term of office out of the 1,000,000 constructed since the war; great advances in the educational system through the construction and renovation of school buildings and the reduction of the large classes; the improvement of medical service for school children; the enfranchisement of women on equal terms with men; increasing relief to agriculture from local taxation; and passing the Trades Union act, which, "has laid forever the ghost of a general strike." Unemployment, the Prime Minister admitted, was still a great national problem, but he stated that the Government was putting into action effective plans for its solution.

The Labor Party conference, which met at Birmingham on Oct. 1, adopted the long and inclusive platform which had been

previously prepared by a committee and approved by the official party leaders (See CURRENT HISTORY, September, 1928, p. 1033). Containing some sixty-five articles of faith, the platform was declared by Ramsay MacDonald to constitute a structure upon which Labor could stand not merely in 1928, but in all of the years that must pass before Socialism is eventually achieved. As in previous party gatherings, the struggle at Birmingham was between the conservative leaders like MacDonald, Clynes, Snowden and Henderson and the extremists represented, on this occasion, by James Maxton. The former declared that Socialism in Great Britain can only be attained through the education of the public, the use of the ballot and a process of gradual evolution. The latter would socialize the State abruptly through political and industrial revolution brought about by any force which may be available. The conference left no doubt that the conservative wing is in control of the party organization at the present time. The platform is in accordance with its policies; action was taken to bar all Communists from Labor Party delegations and Labor platforms, and the radical resolutions of the Left Wing were universally voted down.

In addition to adopting its previously prepared platform, the conference went on record as opposing the Anglo-French naval accord and the secret way in which it had been reached. Demand was made that the Preparatory Disarmament Commission should meet as soon as possible, and in public, and that the British representatives should press for immediate, all-round, drastic reduction in armaments as part of the plan of total disarmament by successive stages. The party also advocated the control of the Bank of England by a public corporation comprising representatives of the Treasury, Board of Trade, industrial interests and labor, as part of a program for democratizing control over the whole British banking and financial system. The Bank of England has always been a private corporation, acting as banker to the British Government and cooperating with the Chancellor of the Exchequer as a matter of custom rather than as the result of constitutional and legal provision.

The Liberal Party conference opened at

Great Yarmouth on Oct. 11 with an attack on the Baldwin Government for its half-hearted attitude toward peace, disarmament and the League of Nations. The Labor Party was criticized for its impotence as an opposition, and the idea of a Liberal Labor coalition was rejected, though willingness was expressed "to co-operate with others for the achievement" of reforms.

At the beginning of the long campaign all parties realize that a tremendous political turnover will be necessary to displace the Conservatives as the majority party in the House of Commons. Out of 615 seats, they

hold more than 400, or a Parliamentary majority of about 220. Labor occupies the position of official opposition, but has only about 140 members while the Liberals have only forty-two. As Mr. Baldwin pointed out at Yarmouth, his party has lost only six seats since the last general election, a remarkable record in view of the fact that in by-elections the drift is usually steadily and increasingly against the party in power. A new and uncertain element in the forthcoming contest, however, is the body of 5,250,000 women between the ages of twenty-one and thirty who will exercise the franchise for the first time.

OTHER EVENTS IN THE BRITISH EMPIRE

GREAT BRITAIN—On Sept. 27 the British Admiralty announced that the contract had been let for the construction of the long projected naval base at Singapore. It was understood that the dockyard would cost approximately £7,750,000. Of this sum the Government of Hong Kong has contributed £250,000, New Zealand £1,000,000, and the Federated Malay States £2,000,000. The Government of the Straits Settlements provides some 3,000 acres of land.

The Archbishop of Canterbury issued a statement on Sept. 29 expressing the approval of the Bishops of the Church of England of the use by the clergy of the revised Book of Common Prayer twice rejected by Parliament. Although the permission was provisional only, it was regarded in many quarters as virtual defiance of the authority of Parliament over the ritual of the Church, and a statement made by the Rev. D. F. L. Donaldson, Canon of Westminster, that the action of the Bishops might hasten disestablishment was commented upon by the press as of great significance.

IRELAND—The second report on the census of 1926 issued on Sept. 20 by the Government of the Irish Free State provided a most interesting record of the occupations of the population of Southern Ireland. Perhaps the most significant fact revealed was that more than half of the adult population (514 per thousand) is engaged in agriculture, while only 149 persons per thousand are engaged in industrial pursuits.

In England and Scotland the agriculturists number 73 and 89 per thousand, respectively, and in industry 416 and 472. The professional classes in Ireland number 42 per thousand of population, as compared with 40 in Scotland and 39 in England and Wales. Numbered among them in the census reports are 14,245 professed priests, clergymen and nuns, 13,107 being Roman Catholic and 788 Church of Ireland clergymen. The returns showed that women were represented in practically every trade and profession.

The Dail and Senate reassembled on Oct. 10 with a long list of Government measures to be considered.

Stating that he would be no party to the setting up of rival parties in Northern Ireland, one Protestant and the other Catholic, Joseph Devlin declined on Oct. 9 to assume the position of leader of the Opposition in the Ulster Parliament. The minority in Northern Ireland, he said, were in an infinitely worse position than two years ago, being denied any position in which honor, intellect, character and education counted. The Nationalists, he added, were dissatisfied and resentful, but would continue as an independent party in the House.

John Devoy, one of the picturesque figures of Ireland's fight for separation from Great Britain during the past fifty years, died at Atlantic City on Sept. 28. Devoy was a supporter of Charles Stuart Parnell and throughout his career was associated with the Irish patriots who advocated the use of violent means to attain Ireland's po-

litical ends. Practically banished from Ireland, he became a resident of the United States and attained prominence as a journalist. At the time of his death he was editor of the *Gaelic American*.

CANADA—Speaking in London on Oct. 10, W. L. Mackenzie King, Prime Minister of Canada, declared that it was untrue to say that Canada did not want British immigrants or that in appointing her own Ministers in foreign capitals she was seeking to break away from the Empire. The effect of appointment of a Canadian Minister to Washington had been, he contended, to establish closer unity of empire interests as represented in that capital rather than to divide them.

Speaking with Mr. King's approval, Senator Raoul Dandurand, Government leader in the Canadian Senate and a former President of the Assembly of the League of Nations, interviewed in Paris on Oct. 6, said that useful results from the activities of the League of Nations Preparatory Disarmament Commission cannot be hoped for unless Great Britain and the United States agree on a formula for making an appreciable reduction in naval armaments.

AUSTRALIA—Shipping was tied up, business paralyzed, homes of independent workers bombed, and the waterfronts of a number of Australian ports given over to mob rule during mid-September by one of the periodic shipping strikes which are characteristic of the Commonwealth's economic life. The dispute arose between the ship owners and the Waterside Workers' Federation over the manner in which stevedores should be employed. The workers refused to accept an award of the Arbitration Court and resorted to violence. Premier Butler of South Australia enrolled a force of 2,000 special constables to keep the peace. The National Trades and Labor Council called upon all maritime workers to refuse to register under the recently enacted transport Workers' act. Prime Minister Bruce of the Commonwealth termed this resolution a direct incentive to defy the law of the land, and declared that the decision of the legal tribunal would be upheld and enforced. Meanwhile, Australian business, which had

begun to improve after a year of depression, received another serious setback.

Prime Minister Bruce on Sept. 10 declined to accede to the proposals of a deputation representing the whole Catholic laity of Australia that the government should accept the principle that secular education of children in the Roman Catholic schools should be recognized by the granting of a Federal subsidy. The deputation declared that the contribution of Roman Catholics toward the cost of the public schools should be transferred to the Church schools.

The Commonwealth Parliament was dissolved on Oct. 9 and writs were issued for a general election to be held on Nov. 17.

SOUTH AFRICA—Premier Hertzog, leader of the Nationalist Party, now in power in the Union Government, is reported to have been making a determined effort to put a stop to propaganda in the Orange Free State for the establishment of a definite republican separatist program at the approaching party congress. Such a program, he declared in public addresses, would destroy the Nationalist Party and again bring the people of Dutch origin in the South African Union into subjection.

It was announced at Bulawayo on Sept. 21 that the final state of parties as a result of the Southern Rhodesian general election was: Rhodesian party, 22; Progressives, 4; Labor, 3; Independent, 1.

INDIA—The Statutory Commission created by Parliamentary enactment to inquire into the working of the present system of Government in India and to recommend to Parliament whether any changes should be made in that Government in the near future, departed from London on Sept. 27 for its second tour of investigation in India.

The Government of India's Public Safety bill, providing for the expulsion of Communist or other dangerous agents who are not British-Indian subjects or subjects of Indian States, was rejected on the casting vote of the President by the Indian Legislative Assembly on Sept. 24. The Moslem party solidly supported the bill, while the opposition consisted wholly of the Hindu parties, led by the Pandit Motilal Nehru.

France's International Viewpoint Today

By HENRY GRATTAN DOYLE

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CURRENT HISTORY ASSOCIATE

FRENCH international relations in the six weeks which followed the signing of the multilateral treaty on Aug. 27 presented a varied picture. Among the serious aspects, the most distressing was probably the disturbance of the fine spirit which had prevailed during the presence of the diplomats in Paris for the treaty-signing, due to the spectre of the Franco-British naval pact. Almost in a moment, it seemed, feelings of distrust and disappointment sprang up in the United States, Germany and Italy—and for reasons that the French apparently have difficulty in comprehending.

Adequate discussion will be found elsewhere in this issue of the pact itself and of the problems it brings to the fore, either directly or indirectly—naval and military disarmament, reparations, the evacuation of German territory, the future of the League of Nations. We shall confine ourselves here to an exposition of the average Frenchman's point of view in international matters today.

It is less than sixty years since the Franco-Prussian War, and only ten years since the close of the Great War. In the first of these conflicts, the principle of reparations and of holding the territory of the defeated nation as security therefor was established by action not of France but of Germany. In the second, France not only repeatedly faced disaster, not only sacrificed a large number of her sons, but her territory was the actual scene of much of the fighting—a fact that it is sometimes hard for Americans to understand.

As for disarmament, the Frenchman's answer is the statement—correct or incorrect—that Briand, the apostle of peace, made in his astonishing speech at Geneva on Sept. 10: namely, that "Germany, instead of being disarmed, has an army of 100,000 men," and "a magnificent reservoir of manpower from which she may draw a much larger army." *La Liberté* (Paris)

followed this up on Sept. 20 with the statement that "Germany is not disarmed. Today Germany has the most formidable army in Europe." The journal adds that tomorrow Germany could present an effective army of 5,000,000 men; and points out the development of German industry in the fields of chemistry, metallurgy and allied industries, as well as the remarkable progress of German aviation.

France is nervous. France is—very properly—concerned with her own security. That is obviously the mainspring of her policy. The manpower of Germany and Russia is a constant nightmare to many French leaders. Only this Summer the prospect of *Anschluss*, or union of Austria and Germany, "gave her a turn." The Communist menace is close at hand—Germany and Austria as well as France have felt its presence in recent weeks. Add to these natural preoccupations the traditions of European international dealing, with its centuries of secret diplomacy based upon a policy of national checks and balances, and it is not surprising that blunders have occurred. It is not surprising even that German critics of Briand should say, with some justification, "he has spoken with the voice of Poincaré; he has destroyed the olive tree of Locarno." (A reference to the olive tree presented to Briand by the town of Locarno after the signing of the Locarno pact, and planted by him at his country home in Normandy.)

Some writers have pointed out the inconsistency of French air manoeuvres over Paris at the very moment when Europe still rang with the praises of the Kellogg-Briand pact. Yet Great Britain had only a short time before conducted similar manoeuvres over London. France joined Great Britain in military manoeuvres in the Rhineland; but Germany had manoeuvres, too, even though she had to use make-believe tanks!

The arrest on Oct. 8 of Harold J. T. Horan, the American newspaper man who

on Sept. 20 cabled to the Hearst papers a copy of the secret Franco-British naval pact, added a lighter aspect to the gravity of the political situation. The arrest was made in the Rue de la Paix during the lunch hour and approached in picturesqueness a Chicago hold-up. After being detained and questioned for seven hours, Mr. Horan was forced to sign an agreement to leave France by midnight on Oct. 11. He subsequently disappeared and his arrival in Brussels was reported on Oct. 12. It was officially stated by the Quai d'Orsay that Horan had obtained the copy cabled through a French journalist, who had received it from a minor official at the Quai d'Orsay, who had evidently acted under a misapprehension.

In addition to manoeuvres in the Rhineland and on the Italian frontier, much attention has recently been paid to the condition of the fortifications along the Eastern frontier of France. On Sept. 11 there was a conference at Metz, participated in by M. Painlevé, Minister of War; the Chief of the General Staff, General Debeney; other military men, and the Presidents of the army commissions (committees) of the Senate and Chamber of Deputies, to consider the plan of defensive fortifications drawn up by Marshal Pétain and Général Guillaumat. The 1928 budget includes a credit of 200,000,000 francs for forts, roads, railway lines and underground communications in the Metz-Thionville sector. At the same time General Gouraud, Military Governor of Paris, has drawn up a plan for the military defense of Paris against revolutionists. This plan contemplates the abandonment of the city almost entirely to the theoretical revolutionists, the retirement of the loyal forces to Versailles and the recapture of the city by the army, precisely as was done in 1871 when the Commune was in control of Paris.

The possibility of such a contingency has been taken so seriously that on Oct. 6 a rather fantastic exposé was published by the *Gazette de France et des Nations*, a financial journal, giving what purported to be a complete plan for a seizure of the city by the "Reds," Marcel Cachin, Communist leader, being named as Premier and Foreign Minister under the plan. Some color was given to the inquietude concerning the "Reds" by the discovery of a scheme for

a monster demonstration of Communists at St. Denis last month, a plan which was nipped in the bud by the Prefect of Police, M. Jean Chiappe.

A commission has been formed under the Presidency of the Minister of the Interior, M. Albert Sarraut, to investigate the question of representation in the Senate and Chamber of Deputies for the native races of Algeria and French colonies.

Moroccan tribesmen are again on the warpath in the Middle Atlas region. Two French mail pilots, captured by Moroccans on June 30, are still being held for ransom. The two Katat brothers, leaders in the rebellion of the Druses in Syria in 1925, have again taken the field against the French protectorate in Syria.

Two events of international significance occurred recently. The Nanking incident has been settled as far as France is concerned by the signing of an agreement on Oct. 7 with the Nationalist Government of China. On Sept. 29, Philippe Roy, for seventeen years Commissioner General of Canada at Paris, presented his credentials to President Doumergue as the first Minister from Canada to France. A few days later it was reported that the Irish Free State was also planning a legation in Paris.

On Sept. 19, at the first meeting of the Finance Committee of the Chamber, the budget for 1929 for the Department of Commerce was adopted without change. A detailed statement of the complete budget was issued on Sept. 12.

The total revenue is estimated at 45,281 million francs, an increase of 2,784 million francs, and a total expenditure of 45,255 million francs, an increase of 2,780 million francs, as compared with that of 1928.

The greater part of the expenditure is incurred by the Ministry of Finance, amounting to 25,241 million francs, representing in a very large part the service of the public debt.

In all other departments the expenditure shows an increase. The largest (though not the largest in proportion) is seen in the amount allotted to the Ministry of War—6,815 million francs, or an increase of 734 million francs.

A large increase is shown in the estimates for the Ministry of Labor, represented last year by 958 million francs, and this year by

1,233 million francs. It is due mainly to the development of progressive expenditure on social insurance.

M. Poincaré has budgeted for increased revenues in practically every department, the sole decrease being in non-recurrent revenue, and that only 54 million francs in a total of 45,281 million francs.

Appearing before the Finance Committee on Oct. 3, Premier Poincaré took a stand against any increase in the total amount of the budget, informing the committee that any increase in individual appropriations must be made up by corresponding economies in other items. He also declared his intention to resign unless the budget was voted by Dec. 31.

It was reported on Oct. 8 that the inclusion in the budget of Articles 70 and 71, providing for the return to French religious societies of some of their former property rights, had caused protests in the Left press.

The vacancy in the Cabinet caused by the death of Maurice Bokanowski has been filled by the appointment as Minister of Commerce of M. Henry Chéron, a Senator from Normandy, formerly (1921) Minister of Agriculture. The new post of Minister of Aviation was created, and M. Laurent Eynac, Under-Secretary of Aviation in six different Cabinets, was appointed to the post. Almost immediately a dispute arose

as to M. Eynac's control over military and naval aviation, neither M. Leygues, Minister of Marine, nor M. Painlevé, Minister of War, being willing to turn over control of their respective aviation branches.

Latest figures on unemployment in France are 723, which compares with 808 for the preceding week and 13,221 at the end of 1927.

BELGIUM—The long-drawn-out struggle between Whitney Warren, the American architect of the new Louvain Library, and the authorities of the university over the inscription to be placed on the balustrade of the library appeared in a fair way to solution with the report on Sept. 20 that King Albert had personally intervened in the matter. According to *L'Indépendance Belge*, of Brussels, there is here not only of averting Mr. Warren's impending lawsuit against Mgr. Ladeuze, rector of the university, but of reaching a compromise on the inscription itself. M. Pierre de Soëte, the Belgian sculptor who represents Mr. Warren, was to confer with Mgr. Ladeuze at the Royal Palace, according to the report. Mr. Warren had been quoted as refusing to accept any inscription other than the original proposal approved by Cardinal Mercier "unless at the openly expressed wish of the King."

THE TEUTONIC COUNTRIES

Austrian Troops Stop Anti-Socialist Riots

By HARRY J. CARMAN

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WHAT for a time threatened to be a repetition of the now famous Vienna riots of over a year ago, did not materialize in Austria on Oct. 7, when the Social Democrats and their sworn foes, the Heimwehr or anti-Socialists, staged demonstrations at Wiener Neustadt. This town of 35,000 in the heart of the industrial district of Lower Austria is thirty miles from Vienna. During the World War it was the centre of extensive munitions factories, since closed with resulting unem-

ployment and fervent socialism. Indeed, the Socialists have long regarded the city and its surrounding territory as one of their strongholds. We can, therefore, well imagine their ire when, after having arranged to hold a parade and enjoy a day's outing, they learned that the Heimwehr proposed to invade the city and also put on a parade. It was soon rumored that this move on the part of the Heimwehr was only the first of a carefully planned campaign to march upon Socialist Vienna in the same fashion

as the Black Shirts of Italy invaded Rome.

Alarmed at the prospect of trouble and perhaps bloodshed, many of the people of Wiener Neustadt left the city two days before the rumored hostilities. Stores, banks and schools were closed and buildings barricaded. Hotels were empty except for several hundred "war correspondents." All electric signs on the streets were removed and property was covered with sandbags against any possible bombardment.

Meanwhile, the Government, fully aware of the situation, prepared to meet any emergency that might arise. Consequently, when the appointed day arrived and the rival paraders began to move, 10,000 soldiers in a solid phalanx with fixed bayonets, gas masks, hand grenades and machine guns were on hand to keep the peace, and there was no disorder, and therefore, no casualties. However, many Communists—

according to estimates, 600—were arrested for distributing inflammatory literature and attempting to stir up trouble. Among them were the Communist editor, M. Slamsky of the *Brunn* (Czechoslovakia) *Tageblatt*, and Franz Lauscher, a leading Austrian Communist. Most of those arrested were subsequently released.

The Seipel Government, which was severely criticized for permitting the parades to be held, maintained that the rights of unrestricted political assembly in Austria must not be abridged. The Wiener Neustadt demonstration cost the State \$500,000. In view of the deplorable effects at home and abroad of the demonstration, Chancellor Seipel on Oct. 8 summoned a conference of representatives of the four Austrian political parties for the purpose of discussing the question of disarming organizations illegally possessing arms.

OTHER EVENTS IN THE TEUTONIC COUNTRIES

AUSTRIA—Third terms for Presidents being prohibited by law in Austria, the republic this Autumn must elect a successor to Dr. Hainisch, the present Chief Executive. Party politics in the usual sense are not considered in making the choice. President Hainisch has had no party affiliations; he was distinguished as a scientist and sociologist. The two candidates now being pressed upon the attention of the electorate are both scientists, Professor Pirquet, who works in applied science, and Professor von Wettstein, who is a botanist. The only difference for the voters to get excited about is that the first, who is somewhat scholastic, is of French descent and hostile to union with Germany; and that the second, who is sociable and easy-going, is of German descent and favors union.

Responding to the appeal from the Pope and Fascist authorities, officials of the Italian Tyrol, which contains a large Austrian population, will henceforth allow the German-speaking clergy to teach Austrian children scripture in their mother tongue. Premier Mussolini's concession in this regard is reported to have given much satisfaction to Italy's Austrian provinces, where heretofore the German language has been suppressed ruthlessly.

The Pan-German Jurists' Congress was

opened at Salzburg on Sept. 12, the German Minister of Justice, twenty-one Ministers of Justice of German States and 1,500 jurists being present. In the addresses delivered by Dr. von Kahl, President of the session, and Dr. Koch-Weser, German Minister of Justice, repeated and pointed reference was made to the desire for union between Germany and Austria, the sentiment being enthusiastically applauded by all present. Referring to trusts and cartels, Dr. Koch said that in view of the fact that political economy had, for the sake of what is called rationalization, abandoned the principle of freedom of trade, it had become the duty of the State to influence its evolution. If the State did not control the trusts and the cartels, they would in the end control the State.

GERMANY—Aviation, in Germany, which had the most successful year in its history, still outdistances that of every other country in the world. Between Jan. 1 and Sept. 1, 1928, the airplanes of the Luft-hansa, the leading German air service, covered approximately 5,000,000 miles and carried more than 100,000 passengers, about 700 tons of baggage, 750 tons of freight, and 790 tons of newspapers and mail.

The shipyard workers at all the German shipyards went on strike on Oct. 1 and about 50,000 workers were out demanding increased wages. While the strike did not affect the sailing of ocean steamers it delayed the completion of Germany's two largest steamships, the Bremen and the Europa, which were recently launched. Another important strike began in the Rhenish textile industry where 45,000 have left the workshops.

The receipts of the German Federal Post Office Department last year amounted to about \$500,000,000, according to the official report published on Sept. 19. The net profit was 253,000,000 marks, of which 70,000,000 had to be turned over to the Reich for reparations purposes.

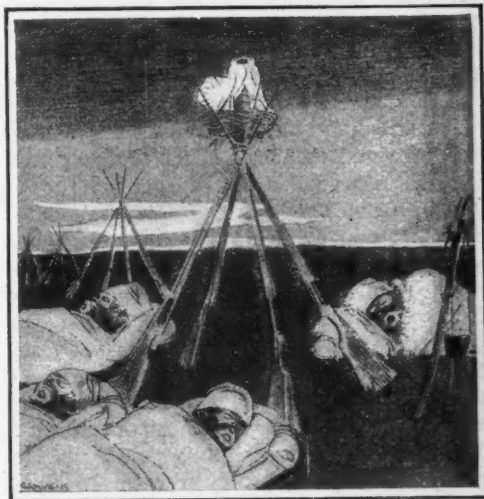
In domestic politics the month under review has been a quiet one for Germany. The Nationalists demanded a referendum on ending the Republic. For this purpose they made use of the Steel Helmets, a semi-militaristic organization of nationalistic veterans. Since the petitioners must secure the signatures of 5,000,000 voters before a referendum can be taken, there is small likelihood that they will meet with success. Even the Nationalist press, which openly regrets the Steel Helmets' move, predicts defeat of the referendum. One result of this latest Nationalist move was the decision on Oct. 2 of the People's Party to break with the Steel Helmets. This is regarded as significant from two angles, the first being the cutting off of the Nationalists, who are now condemned to be a hopeless opposition party, and secondly as a remarkable sign of the approach of the People's Party toward republicanism. This gives a hopeful aspect to the forthcoming negotiations regarding reformation of the present Government into a coalition within the Reich and Prussia. Finally, the change gains immensely in importance, observers say, if one considers the fact that only last year the same party was sitting with the Nationalists in the same Cabinet and was bitterly opposed to any compromise with the Socialists and Democrats.

Hugo Stinnes was recently released from jail on 1,000,000 marks (\$250,000) bail pending his trial on a charge of attempting to defraud the Government through false registration of war bonds.

Nearly 300,000 male and female Prussian school teachers are vainly looking for permanent positions, according to a report published by the Ministry of Education on Sept. 20. The total number of teachers in the State is 108,813, while the number of applicants for employment is 290,587, or 27.2 applicants for every position becoming vacant at the present rate. Nearly 75 per cent. of these teachers seeking jobs have no hope of finding steady employment for some years.

It was reported from Berlin on Oct. 10 that conversations looking toward a concordat between Prussia and the Vatican have been concluded. The *Vossische Zeitung* says that the Papal Government proposes the establishment of three new Bishoprics. It is understood that under the proposed concordat the Bishops would be appointed directly by the Holy See after consultation with the Prussian Government instead of being elected by their chapters and that the Government will be required to undertake the provision of "a sufficient number" of Catholic denominational schools.

HOLLAND—The flood waters which poured through the broken dykes at Zeebrugge and Nieuport in late September with the high tide desolated the West Flanders farming country. It is impossible



PEACE ON THE RHINE
—Kladderadatsch.

to estimate the damage through the loss of cattle, poultry and crops. Drowned animals covered land everywhere after the tide had ebbed and it was feared saturation would make land cultivation impossible for three years. The waters flooded the country as far as Wulpen. Several hundred acres were submerged beyond the villages of St. Georges and Ramscapele.

The first mail plane in the service between Holland and the East Indies left

Amsterdam on Sept. 13 and in less than two weeks landed safely in Batavia.

SWITZERLAND—The refusal on Sept. 24 of the Swiss Federal Council to grant the request of a large group of Swiss women for the right to vote seems to be pretty conclusive evidence that woman suffrage is making slow headway in Switzerland. Previous appeals to the Geneva State Council and the Federal Council were refused.

ITALY AND SPAIN

Fascist Council Becomes Organ of Italian State

By ELOISE ELLERY

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THE outstanding event in Italy during the last month was the approval by the Grand Council of the Fascist Party of the bill making that body an organ of State. The quasi-official position which it has occupied since the march on Rome in October, 1922, was in a measure regularized by the new electoral bill brought forward last November. That bill, by giving the Grand Council a part in the selection of candidates for the Chamber, proposed to make it a *de jure* part of the Constitution. This new bill goes further and not only gives the Council full legal and constitutional status but makes it the supreme body which is to coordinate all the activities of the régime.

The Council is composed of the Presidents of the Senate and Chamber of Deputies, all the Ministers and the chief leaders of all the branches of the Fascist organization. It will have three important duties. First, it will draw up the list of Fascist candidates for Parliament, which will afterward be submitted to the voters at election; second, it will make a list of persons whom it regards as suitable to be Prime Minister; third, it will also nominate candidates for Government posts, thus becoming the King's chief adviser in the selection of Ministers and Under Secretaries. While remaining the supreme power in the Fascist Party, it also becomes the Government's adviser in all important matters,

and must be consulted on all questions having a constitutional character, including proposed laws affecting succession to the throne, the King's powers and prerogatives, composition of the Chamber and Senate, the prerogatives of the Prime Minister, the relations between Church and State, and international treaties involving changes in the territory of the State or its colonies. In addition, the Government may submit to the Grand Council any question on which it requires its advice.

The phrase "matters affecting succession to the throne" is variously interpreted. Some hold the bill to mean that on the death of the present King the succession of his son would not be considered valid unless ratified by the Grand Council. The majority, however, interpret it to mean that the Council is to be consulted only in the case of a disputed succession, as, for instance, in the event of the Crown Prince being a minor at the time of the death of the King, or of a King having no male relative.

The members of the Council enjoy large immunity, for "no member of the Grand Council can be arrested or subjected to action or any police regulations without authorization of the Grand Council," and "no disciplinary measure against any member of the Grand Council, who is at the same time a member of the Fascist Party, can be adopted without the deliberation of the

Grand Council." The meetings of the Council are to be secret and the members are to serve without pay.

In connection with the new régime, Premier Mussolini announced to the Fascist Grand Council that his political program for the next twelve months included the dissolution of the present Chamber—the last under the old régime—about the middle of December; the inauguration of the new electoral system, under which a list of Fascist candidates will be submitted to the electorate on March 24, and the opening of the new Chamber on April 21, the anniversary of the founding of Rome. The last sittings will be dedicated to the approval of the four fundamental acts of the Fascist régime, namely, the law laying down the functions and prerogatives of the Fascist Grand Council; the promulgation of the Charter of Labor, declaring the reciprocal rights of capital and labor; the law on the new administrative system of the provinces and the law for the integral reclamation of the national territory. As a preliminary to the elections Mussolini is reported to have sent a circular to all the prefects in the kingdom ordering them to register all Italian emigrants as voters in the elections of March 24. He also expressed the hope that many Italian voters would find it possible to revisit Italy at the date of the elections and so take advantage of this opportunity to vote.

Other plans of Mussolini for the future, it is asserted, include period shifts in high positions held by his followers, with the purpose of training a ruling class. At all events he recently accepted the resignation of Prince Potenziani as Governor of Rome, and also the resignation of the heads of the municipalities of Milan, Turin and Florence, as well as that of the Presidents of several State and semi-State institutions. The new Governor of Rome is Don Francesco Boncompagni Ludovisi, Prince of Piombino, a member of a distinguished Roman family. An aftermath of this shift in office was an assertion made in one of the clubs of Rome that Prince Potenziani had been dismissed by Mussolini for "grafting." Whereupon the Prince challenged to a duel Prince Lancelotti, who was reported to have made the assertion. The duel was fought in

great secrecy near Rome, and ended when Lancelotti, in the twenty-first round, was wounded in the shoulder.

In looking into the future, Mussolini, according to his recent article in the Fascist magazine *Gerarchia*, is greatly troubled by the falling birth rate not only of Italy but of Europe as a whole. He sees in it the decline of rural life, and, if it is not checked in time, even the eventual domination of the black and yellow races. "In disciplined, enriched, cultivated Italy," he said, "there is room for 10,000,000 more men. Sixty million Italians would make their weight felt in the history of the world." As a practical measure of dealing with population Fascist policy has of late directed attention to checking emigration of Italian subjects abroad—a reversal of its earlier policy. A recent circular of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs states that "Whereas the Fascist Government sees no objection to temporary emigration of members of Italian intellectual, commercial, professional and technical classes, it will no longer allow permanent emigration of its citizens abroad."

"Subversive" literature, according to a circular sent to the managers of public libraries by the new Minister of Education—a circular reported through German sources—must be banished from their shelves. Rumor had it, the circular went on to say, that books written by Socialists or treating of Socialist subjects were still at the disposal of the public. "Such a scandal," the circular declared, "must cease at once and all such books and pamphlets must be removed from the sight of the public and from use by visitors of the libraries."

At a conference of the editors of all the Fascist newspapers, held in Rome on Oct. 10, Mussolini declared that, while in other countries the majority of newspapers are at the command of plutocratic groups, parties or individuals, in Italy the press serves only the ideals of the Fascist revolution, and that, except where the fundamentals of the revolution are concerned, every one is free to criticize as much as he pleases.

In the event of actual violence directed against the present régime, the special military tribunal takes drastic action, as is evidenced in the recent trial of the alleged accomplices of Zamboni, who, on Oct. 31,

1927, attempted to assassinate Mussolini at Bologna. The would-be assassin, it will be remembered, was done to death on the spot by the mob. His father, mother-in-law and brother, accused of complicity, were brought to trial during the last month. The brother was acquitted, but the other two received the maximum sentence, thirty years.

In her foreign relations Italy added another treaty to the list of her accords with her neighbors in Central and Eastern Europe by signing an agreement with Greece, on Sept. 23. According to Mussolini, this treaty is the precursor of still other accords and emphasizes the "innate pacific character" of Italy's policy in the Near East. As an evidence of more friendly relations with Turkey, a visit to Constantinople of a thousand young Blackshirts, including Mussolini's two sons, is not perhaps without significance.

With Italy's nearer neighbor, France, occasions of friction have arisen because of the anti-Italian demonstrations on the part of certain French radical groups, aroused in turn, it is asserted, by anti-French demonstrations on the other side of the border. The respective Governments appear, however, to be endeavoring to keep the peace. There has also been some friction between Italy and Switzerland, in this case growing out of the arrest of the anti-Fascist Cesare Rossi by Italian police near the Swiss frontier. Though the arrest was on Italian territory, it was asserted that he had been lured over the border by Italian spies in Switzerland. The Swiss Government made protest and has shown its objection to Italian spy services on Swiss soil by expelling several Italians alleged to have been engaged in such activities.

SPAIN—Rumors of a plot to overthrow the Government during the national celebration in honor of the fifth anniversary of the dictatorship of General Primo de Rivera, on Sept. 13, led to the arrest of those concerned to the number—according to varying reports—of from less than one hundred to several thousand. Despite the efforts of the Government to minimize the

matter, the plot appears to have had ramifications throughout the country and to have found support among Republicans, Liberals and Communists. Madrid, Valencia, Saragossa and Barcelona are said to have been centres of the conspiracy, and numerous persons of importance were to be among those arrested. On the eve of the celebration announcement was made that "complete calm reigns in the capital and throughout the country." The celebration itself took place with much pomp and circumstance. It was said to be the greatest popular pageant ever seen in Madrid. Special trains brought from all parts of Spain representatives of the provinces by the thousands, and the procession which marked the climax of the festivities is reported to have taken five hours to pass the reviewing stand. A feature of the celebration was a general amnesty, under which there were released hundreds of prisoners, including many who had been held for offenses of a political character.

The anniversary was also marked by the closer organization of the "Patriotic Union," first created by Primo de Rivera as a party to support his policy. It is now to be called the "Sacred Union." In instructions to this organization the following are set forth: "It would seem that every day the belief spreads over the world that politics hinder government. A non-political régime should not exclude public opinion, but rather try to enlist it for the sake of more efficacious, less passionate collaboration. Problems of public interest today are cultural, economic and social. Perhaps within the next few years it may be opportune to change the constitutional, political régime, which is to be created when the present provisional régime ends. The latter may not please persons of exalted ideas, but it will embody and affirm the rights of citizenship, regulate individual participation in the Government, guarantee order and the prosperity of the country."

Though calm may be officially established and though the mass of the Spanish people, in spite of special celebrations, remain indifferent to the political situation, it is evident that among the leaders there is much discontent.

The Greco-Italian Rapprochement

By FREDERIC A. OGG

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THE dramatic return of M. Venizelos to power at Athens, followed by the smashing victory of his party at the polls, has inaugurated a new and significant chapter in Greek foreign relations. On Sept. 20 the Premier left Athens for a "diplomatic tour" of the West, the principal incident of which was the signing of a treaty of friendship and conciliation at Rome three days later. From Rome he proceeded to Paris for conferences at the Quai d'Orsay, including discussions with the Yugoslav Foreign Minister (also visiting Paris) concerning a treaty of friendship with his Government—and afterward returned home via Belgrade.

The treaty with Italy had been under consideration for a considerable period, and would have been signed two or three weeks earlier had not M. Venizelos been prevented by illness from starting more promptly on his travels. The main object of the instrument is to lay down rules for the conciliatory settlement of any conflict that may arise between the two countries, incapable of settlement by ordinary diplomatic methods. The text, as given out on the day following signature, reads in part as follows:

1. The two high contracting parties engage themselves reciprocally to take mutual steps and to cooperate cordially for the maintenance of order established by the treaties of peace of which they are both signatories, and also for the respect and carrying out of the obligations stipulated in the said treaties.

2. In case one of the high contracting parties should be the object of an unprovoked aggression on the part of one or more Powers, the other party engages itself to observe neutrality during all the duration of the conflict.

3. In case the security and the interest of one of the high contracting parties should be menaced by violent invasions from the outside, the party engages to take political and diplomatic steps to the end that the cause of these menaces be removed.

4. In case of international complications, if the two high contracting parties are in agreement that their common interests are, or may be, menaced, they engage to discuss together measures to be taken in common for their safeguarding.

The treaty is, in general, similar to those made by Italy with almost all the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, but is the first one of the kind which Greece has concluded with any foreign Power. It proves, says Premier Mussolini, the "innate pacific character" of Italy's policy in the Near East. At all events, it crowns the gradual rapprochement between the two countries which has been going on in the past few years, after a period in which relations were very strained following the Corfu incident. Mussolini some time ago set himself to gain the confidence and good-will of the Greek nation, and the treaty typifies the very good relations now existing between the countries.

In an evidently inspired editorial, the *Giornale d'Italia* declared that Greece "is now approaching a political program based on the stabilization of the national positions of the countries bathed by the Mediterranean, and the formation of a common front for all the questions affecting the Mediterranean." It adds that Greece, which recently has greatly improved its relations with Turkey and Bulgaria, has shown by its prompt recognition of the enthronement of Ahmed Zogu its willingness to help in Albania's consolidation and has given proof of its desire to live at peace and in cooperation with other Balkan nations.

On his part, M. Venizelos expressed the belief that "a solid concord of friendship" would be built upon the treaty, and added that as soon as certain questions regarding the port of Saloniki could be settled he hoped to conclude a similar agreement with Yugoslavia. The only "fly in the ointment" seems to be the ill-concealed disappointment of Greeks everywhere to find that the treaty contains no clauses dealing with the status of the Greek inhabitants of the Italian-controlled Dodecanese. From groups of these people have come fresh petitions to the Athens Government imploring their rescue from the foreign yoke, and Opposition newspapers are voicing what they represent as

the feeling of Greeks universally that the Premier ought not to have lost the opportunity to take a firm stand on the question.

YUGOSLAVIA—Events during the past month have continued to move in the direction of the complete autonomy for Croatia and Dalmatia which Stefan Raditch so ardently advocated up to his death last August. Preparations for the trial of three Serb members of the Skupstina charged with inciting the murderous outbreak in that body of which Raditch was a victim have kept feeling at a high pitch. Against the judgment of many Serbs, a noted French criminal lawyer has been engaged to head the defense, and an appeal has been issued for popular subscriptions toward payment of his fee. Tending as it does to place the defendants in the position of martyrs instead of ordinary criminals, this has had the effect, as was predicted, of aggravating Croatian unrest.

Within a few hours after the appeal was launched, the Croatian party executives met at Zagreb and drafted a manifesto to the populace urging a complete social, commercial and financial boycott against the Serbs; and on Oct. 1 the two disaffected provinces, through delegates to a joint political congress at the Croatian capital, decided to establish a close union, to boycott Serbia, and to work independently of the Belgrade Government on all domestic affairs. Plans were discussed for the construction of harbor works, roads, city streets, railroads and bridges, and methods were talked over for conducting independent local government and for offering concerted resistance to any obstructive measures which the Central Government might take. Not only—it was charged—has the Belgrade Government deprived Croats and Dalmatians of their rightful share of the offices, but it has usurped many powers not granted by the Constitution of the Triune Kingdom.

Meanwhile, an agreement under which two German concerns (the United Steel and the General Electric) were to give Yugoslavia credits on purchases of railroad materials, rolling stock and electrical equipment from German firms to the amount of \$25,000,000 has been held up by the uncertainty of the political situation. The Croa-

tians, Dalmatians and Slovenes assert that they will not recognize any debts contracted by Belgrade, and that should they come into power they will take the Government in hand with a clean slate, repudiating all obligations of the former régime. Under these circumstances, the German firms naturally shrink from signing contracts. Part of the proposed credits were to have been charged off against reparations in kind due Yugoslavia from Germany.

It was reported on Oct. 12 that a special courier had left for Rome, bearing a ratified copy of the Nettuno convention which the Belgrade Parliament accepted over the Croatian protest and which King Alexander recently signed. The treaty is to come into effect as soon as Yugoslavia receives the Italian ratification.

ALBANIA—One by one the Governments of the world have extended official recognition to the new Albanian monarch, King Zogu I. Recognition by the United States was announced by the State Department on Sept. 13; a letter of felicitation from President Coolidge was given out, and with it a message addressed by Secretary Kellogg to the Foreign Minister at Tirana voicing the understanding that commercial relations between the two countries, as determined by an exchange of notes on June 22, 1922, are to continue unchanged. A friendly communication addressed to the President by the new sovereign told of the kingdom's gratitude for "humane assistance" given through the medium of the Red Cross.

Uncensored dispatches sifting across the borders in recent weeks describe Albania as being in a state of unrest, in some places approaching terror, because of the widespread protests and demonstrations against the new régime. Many—perhaps most—Albanians have as yet little conception of national unity, and acknowledge no obligation of allegiance except to their tribe and its chieftain. For a strong central government such as the new King proposes to build up they have no liking. Besides, he is a Moslem and a member of an old feudal family, whereas many of his subjects are Catholic or Greek Orthodox Christians and jealous of the feudal aristocracy. Formerly, the objectors were more or less held in

check by the consideration that Zogu was only a President of a republic and that his term of office would in due course come to an end. Now that he has taken steps to keep himself in power indefinitely, the spirit of revolt has been loosed. According to reports, Zogu stays closely guarded in the former presidential mansion in Tirana, while trusted Albanian and Italian police seize plotters and hold almost daily executions.

Through diplomatic channels, Yugoslavia has protested against the adoption by Zogu of the title "King of the Albanians," instead of "King of Albania," the point being that more than half a million Albanians have been living in Yugoslavia since the peace treaties turned over to Belgrade the full jurisdiction of the territory which they inhabit. The title that has been taken, it is argued, is calculated to become the rallying cry of these irredentist Albanians, and thus add a fresh difficulty to Yugoslavia's position, as well as one more ingredient to the inflammable Balkan situation. Greece feels similarly, since there are probably a quarter of a million Albanians within her borders. The Athens Government, however, sent formal congratulations to the new King.

BULGARIA—A main effect of the Cabinet crisis which ran its course between Sept. 4 and 10, and which ended in reinstatement of the former Liapcheff Cabinet, with change in only one portfolio, was

the enhancement of the prestige and political influence of King Boris. By sheer ingenuity and pertinacity, he compelled the opposing factions, led by War Minister Volkov and Foreign Minister Burov, to bury their differences and resume office together. With this triumph in mind, the nation threw itself with added zest into the celebration, in early October, of the tenth anniversary of the King's elevation to the throne, and also of the fiftieth anniversary of the country's liberation from the Turkish yoke, which was confirmed by the Treaty of Berlin in 1878.

HUNGARY—Hungary, on Oct. 6, sent to the United States Government a note expressing her adherence to the Kellogg anti-war treaty, "under the supposition" that the "injustices" of the Treaty of Trianon would be remedied. The note was made public by the State Department on Oct. 12 without comment.

On Oct. 14 it was reported that Count Bethlen, the Hungarian Prime Minister, in a speech at Oedenberg, West Hungary, had announced that Hungary would soon hold a referendum to select a King for the throne vacant since King Charles's abdication in 1918. The Premier pronounced himself against the Archduke Otto, son of Charles, and this was interpreted as meaning that Archduke Albert, son of the Habsburg Archduke Frederick, would be the leading contender for the throne.

NATIONS OF NORTHERN EUROPE

Socialist Setback in Swedish General Election

By MILTON OFFUTT

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A SHARP check to the Social Democratic Party's hopes for a clear majority in the lower house of the Swedish Parliament, coupled with proportionate gains by the Conservatives and the Agrarians, proved the most significant results of the Swedish general election, which occurred throughout the provinces on Sept. 15 and 16 and was completed by the voting of the Stockholm constituencies on Sept. 21.

The interest aroused throughout Sweden

by the elections was reported as greater than on any similar occasion within recent years, with the possible exception of the voting in 1923, when the Prohibition issue excited universal interest. The restrictive liquor system was not a major issue, the consultative plebiscite of 1922 being regarded as having settled its fate, and the out and out Prohibitionists are still only a small minority. A general survey of the liquor situation, however, was voted by the

last Riksdag and on the strength of its committee report minor changes may be installed. Everywhere the votes cast exceeded greatly in number those of the 1925 election.

With the complete returns it became evident that the Social Democrats had lost sixteen seats in the Chamber of Deputies, while the Conservatives had gained eight, the Agrarians nine and the Communists four. The new Chamber will be made up as follows: Social Democrats, 90; Conservatives, 73; Liberal Prohibitionists, 28; Agrarians, 27; Communists, 8, and Liberals, 4. The shift in sentiment toward the Right deprived the Drys of about ten members in the Chamber, chiefly in the Social Democratic section.

In the old Chamber the Social Democrats held 106 seats out of the 230 and for a clear majority needed only 10 more, which their party leaders held high hopes of obtaining at this election. The party sustained a loss of 16 seats, explained by the fact that the Social Democrats during the campaign allied themselves with the Communists, against whom popular feeling proved to be very bitter. The fact that the Communist Party itself gained four seats did not change the fact that throughout the campaign the drift of public opinion seemed to be steadily away from the parties of the Centre toward either the Right or Left wings. The program of the Social Democrats, in other words, was too radical for most of the "Centre" voters, who swung to the Agrarians and Conservatives, and not sufficiently radical for the rest, who voted for the Communist candidates.

A crisis in the Cabinet arose when the returns showed that Prime Minister Carl G. Ekman, leader of the central bloc, had been re-elected, but that his Minister for Foreign Affairs, J. Eliel Löfgren, had lost his seat. Löfgren, elected to the last Chamber as a member of the Liberal Party, ran as an Independent in the September elections after the Liberal organization had declined to back him because of a belief that he leaned too far toward the Left. On Sept. 26 M. Ekman and his Government resigned.

Following the resignation of the Ekman Government, King Gustav asked the Cabi-

net to remain in office provisionally until he could confer with the leaders of the various parties and with the Presidents of the two houses of the Swedish Parliament. It was finally announced that he had asked ex-Admiral Arvid Lindman to form a new Cabinet. Admiral Lindman undertook this task and succeeded in forming a Government of conservative tendency, which was made up as follows:

Admiral A. LINDMAN—Premier.
Ex-Premier TRYGGER—Foreign Affairs.
G. F. BISSMARK, Mayor of Holmstead—Justice.
Lt. Col. H. MALMBERG—National Defense.
Ex-Governor SVEN LUEBECK—Social Service.
Judge T. BORELL—Communications.
Professor NILS WOHLIN—Finance.
Professor CLAES LINDSKOG—Cults and Education.
WILHELM LUNDIRK—Commerce.
AUGUST BESKOW—Advisory Minister.
VULT VON STELJERN—Advisory Minister.
J. B. JOHANSSON of Frederickslund—Agriculture.

DENMARK—Copenhagen, the old Chapman's or Merchant's Haven, as its name tells when released from its English disguise and spelled or pronounced in Danish, has for eight centuries maintained its importance as a centre of international trade. Guarding the western gate to the Baltic from its position on the Sound, its citizens have seen the Long Ships of the Vikings give way before tall-sparred sailing craft and these in turn before steam and oil-driven cargo carriers, and they have made a prosperous living from them all. Much of the city's prosperity came from the ships of other nations, which had of necessity, to pass close by its harbor and which enriched it either by money forcibly collected from them or by the profits accruing to it as an international warehouse and market. The rest has come from the operations of its own Danish ships, long as well known as any on the sea, which have helped to place Denmark in the company of the greatest commercial nations.

Naturally, when commerce began to flow through a new medium, when boxes and bales began to move through the air as well as across the water, the citizens of Copenhagen prepared to play their accustomed part in developing the channel of commerce and to take their accustomed gain.

In 1923 the first commercial plane rose from a new flying field at Copenhagen and flew to Hamburg.

On Sept. 19 King Alfonso XIII of Spain called at Copenhagen for a few hours in order to pay a friendly visit to King Christian X of Denmark. President Jaan Toennisson of Estonia also paid an official visit to King Gustav.

ESTONIA—The increasing importance of a knowledge of the English language was recognized in a practical manner by the Republic of Estonia when the Ministry of Education of that State, late

in July, issued a circular to the authorities of the national schools. The circular did not make the study of English compulsory, but did emphatically recommend that more time be devoted to its mastery in the secondary schools.

LITHUANIA—The study of the English language was made compulsory in the Lithuanian national schools at Kovno, Tauragė, Shiauliai, Panevezhys and Birzhiai.

On July 20 the Lithuanian Minister at Paris, M. Klimas, signed a provisional commercial treaty with France.

THE SOVIET UNION

Far-Reaching Changes in Soviet Concessions Policy

By EDGAR S. FURNISS

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THE announcement by the Soviet Government on Sept. 14, of far-reaching changes in its rules governing concessions to foreign business interests reflects important factors working upon Bolshevik policy. It has been apparent for some time to students of conditions in the Soviet Union that the Bolshevik leaders were in a dilemma created by the conflict between their policy, as Communists, of preventing a growth of private ownership in Russia's major industries, and the urgent practical necessity of increasing the output and cheapening the cost of manufactured goods. Holding the strategic position in the economic structure of the country, the peasants have refused to produce supplies of food adequate to the needs of the urban population unless assured of favorable prices in terms of factory products. The use of force has only stiffened peasant opposition. During the first six months of this year the country passed through a food crisis precipitated in large part by the refusal of the agrarian population to expand production without adequate reward. But the industrial equipment of the country is so meagre that no immediate increase of domestic fac-

tory products is possible; while the policy of protection virtually excludes supplies from abroad.

What is urgently needed is obviously a rapid increase in the amount of capital invested in Russia's industries. The new capital cannot be accumulated within Russia herself because of the poverty of the country, which leaves a scant margin of current income above the essential consumption needs of the people. Yet to turn the major industries over to foreign capitalists is so contrary to Communist principles that the Soviet authorities have been reluctant to accept this alternative. The new concessions policy is, therefore, important both as evidence that economic need has triumphed over doctrinaire theory at the present moment and as presaging further compromises with conservative principles if the new policy is successful in attracting foreign capital.

The succession of retreats from Communism which have marked Bolshevik tactics since the revolution are epitomized in the development of the policy governing foreign concessionaires. During the period of pure Communism, from 1918-1921, no

private ownership by domestic or foreign capitalists was tolerated. The collapse of this experiment in 1920 led to the first cautious and tentative bids for foreign investment early in 1921 as a phase of Lenin's new economic policy. But so burdensome were the terms offered to foreign concessionaires and so suspicious the attitude of the Soviet authorities toward them that very little was accomplished at first. From 1921 to the present time the Soviet Government has gradually liberalized its treatment of foreign business interests by dealing with each cause of complaint individually and attempting to strike a compromise which would keep the industry alive.

At present there are ninety-seven concessions in Russia, German capitalists leading with thirty-one, followed by the United States with fourteen, England with ten, Japan with seven and France with six. But the field open to foreign capital has been rigidly restricted and the regulations under which the concessions operate burdensome. According to official figures, the total amount of capital invested in 1927 was only \$3,500,000—an insignificant amount compared with Russia's needs; and, though profits have been large, concessionaires have shown a tendency to withdraw from the field because of the harassing regulations. It is noteworthy, however, that no important foreign business has charged the Bolsheviks with bad faith in the performance of their agreements. The trouble has been intrinsic—arising from a conflict of principles—rather than personal.

The new policy, just announced, removes at one stroke many of the restrictions and regulations. The field is broadened to open up new opportunities in railroads, mines, power stations, agriculture and fuel. Freedom to import raw materials and to send profits out of the country, to bring in foreign experts and skilled labor, to manage the enterprise with an eye to private gain, are held out as inducements. Taxes are to be reduced and simplified. The life of the concession contract is to be extended to a semi-permanent basis. The governing principle, frankly stated by the Soviet authorities, is to be "the attraction of the maximum amount of foreign capital in each individual case." All this contrasts sharply with the original objectives of the Bolshe-

viki and is a measure of the extent to which the conservative counter-revolution has been recovering ground lost to extremists in the heyday of Communism.

There is convincing evidence that the new policy is not merely a gesture. Immediate steps have been taken to strengthen the Soviet delegations in different countries and to press with vigor their appeal to foreign capitalists, particularly in the United States. At the same time the Stalin Government allows an intimation to reach the foreign press that Russia is presently to offer abroad her first large foreign bond issue. A month ago a similar "feeler" was put forth in the form of a suggestion that the Soviet Union would seek to borrow \$15,000,000 on new 8 per cent. bonds of the Chinese Eastern Railway. This suggestion was promptly countered by a claim from French financial interests representing the former owners of the railway to exclusive property rights in the road, reminiscent of the attempt by the Bank of France last Spring to seize \$5,000,000 in Russian gold deposited in New York, and nothing more has been said about the loan. The whole situation illustrates the inevitable necessity of modifying their Communist doctrine which must confront the Soviet leaders as they increase their commercial and financial contacts with the outside world.

In the field of official foreign relations Russia appears to be striving to recover her lost status in the family of nations by pacific means similar to those which characterize her new foreign economic policy. The Congress of the Third International, to be sure, recently ended its six weeks' session with the usual resolutions condemning capitalism and calling for world revolution; but there has been an unwonted disposition to tone down the public fulminations of this body. Protests from many of the delegates against a discontinuance of grants of funds for foreign propaganda, and even of allowances for the delegates' expenses, are signs of a changing order. The manoeuvres of the Red Army in September, usually an excuse for much oratory of a fiery character, were this year made the occasion of solemn assurances from high Government officials of Russia's pacific intent toward all nations—including, specifically, Poland,

against whom the Soviet Union has unsettled grievances. After a preliminary newspaper campaign of criticism and protest, Russia promptly accepted her first opportunity to join the Kellogg treaty renouncing war as an instrument of policy, on the ground that its general purport harmonizes completely with the peaceful intentions of the Soviet Union. These are straws in the wind, of trifling importance in themselves, but serving to show the direction of Russian policy. True, they may be, and in some quarter have been interpreted as, the camouflage of deep sinister plottings; but it is more in line with a commonsense understanding of Russia's internal situation to accept them as evidence of a gradual assimilation of Bolshevik theory and policy to those of conservative nations. As an indication of the extent to which the rulers of Russia are prepared to go in satisfying world opinion, Stalin recently allowed the foreign correspondents in Russia to notify the world of his willingness to cut off the "Comintern's" supply of Russian money. This is very much as if Spain had announced her intention to disestablish the Church in deference to the views of Protestant nations.

It would be a serious error to infer from what has been said above that the Bolshe-

viki are moved to compromises because the Russian economic and political structure is in a precarious state. On the contrary, there is every reason to believe that the country is in a healthier condition than at any time since the Revolution. The fiscal year has ended with Government finances on a sound basis. Harvests are plentiful. Slow but steady progress has been registered in the manufacturing and public utilities fields. Foreign trade has flourished, exports of cloth, for example, approaching the peak year of 1913. Above all, the Communist Party is again reunited and, apparently, in undisputed command of the political structure.

The recent progressive shift toward conservatism is not the counsel of desperation, but the more substantial and promising outworking of a desire to capitalize gains already made and to hasten the rehabilitation of the country.

The hundredth anniversary of Tolstoy's birth was celebrated at his village home on Sept. 13 by an impressive conclave of prominent people from Russia and other countries. The Bolsheviks suppressed their criticism of the Tolstoyan philosophy of Christian non-resistance in order to join whole-heartedly in the world's praise of his enduring contribution to literature.

TURKEY AND THE NEAR EAST

The Demand for Political Freedom in Syria And Palestine

By ALBERT HOWE LYBYER

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THE majority groups in Syria and Palestine feel that they have been badly treated in the settlement since the war. They are doubtful whether their present condition can be counted, all things considered, as having been improved.

It can hardly be questioned that many of the difficulties which have beset these regions during the past ten years have been due to the self-interest of the British and French, who early in the World War agreed quite in the old spirit to seize cer-

tain portions of the Ottoman Empire as prizes of war. The claims of both Great Britain and France cannot be connected with a sincere desire for the advancement of the peoples of the regions, for they rest upon imperialism in its various forms. It is true that in order to secure apparent harmony with liberal ideas and the general trend of the times, the system of mandates was adopted, with a unitary oversight on the part of the League of Nations, but it is highly significant that the division of

the Arabic-speaking territories formerly belonging to Turkey was carried out very closely along the lines of the secret treaties made during the war. Had the whole problem of the best administration of these territories been brought without prejudice before the League of Nations, acting impartially in the general interest of the peoples now living there, hardly any possibility exists that the organization and administration of the territories would have been what it is now. The preservation of as complete an economic unity as possible was highly desirable, and politically some form of single government, perhaps a federation, would seem to have been indicated by the circumstances.

The basic difficulty in both Syria and Palestine goes back to the foreign rule. Very likely in each area the controlling Power will slowly be forced to a loyal application of its commission from the League of Nations to bring the people concerned to complete independence and self-rule. Much time, however, is being lost along the way, and it can only be hoped that inadequate arrangements will not so far become established that only renewed bloodshed will revise and correct them.

Syria has been ruled during seven years by five successive French High Commissioners. Henri Ponsot succeeded in finishing the armed struggle with partisans of independence and proceeded in a very promising way toward the elaboration of a Constitution. This Constitution, however, was not for the whole of Syria as entrusted to France under mandate, but for something like the half of it, including the inland districts from the region of Damascus to that of Aleppo. In this restricted area elections were held with apparent complete freedom, and the resulting delegates were allowed to meet and deliberate without authoritative restriction. M. Ponsot and his superiors at home, M. Poincaré and M. Briand, perhaps supposed that in this way a document would be produced which would conform to the desires of France in the direction of maintaining close ties with France and ready control of the French Government over that of Damascus. If so, events have shown them to have been greatly mistaken, and they have been compelled to fall back upon the authority of the League of Nations as

requiring them to suspend the meetings of the Constituent Assembly, and therewith to request serious modification of a number of important articles in the proposed document.

In Chapter I, Articles 1 and 2, the Assembly makes clear its desire that Syria shall be "an independent sovereign State" containing "all lands within the natural borders of Syria as ceded from the Ottoman Empire." Syria is then declared to be "an indivisible political unit, regardless of whatever administrative changes may have been introduced into it following the World War." This would not only bring together in one unitary organization the five or six districts within the area of the French mandate, but could also be held to include Palestine and Trans-Jordan. Using the largest interpretation, the Assembly, far from a desire to reach immediate agreement with France, challenges the whole system of mandates as applied within the former boundaries of Turkey and asks for complete freedom from outside control. The voice that is heard is the same that spoke to the American King-Crane Commission on Mandates in Turkey in the "Damascus Program," which was presented in July of 1919. France and Great Britain under their present Governments are not in the least likely to approve these articles of the Constitution.

Article 3 declares the Syrian State to be a representative republic, "the religion of whose President shall be Islam" and whose capital shall be Damascus. The mistake is avoided of declaring any religion to be that of the State, but it is declared that the President shall be chosen from the religious majority. In the articles of Chapter I it is clearly provided that no distinction shall be drawn between citizens because of racial origin, language, religion or denomination. Freedom of worship is guaranteed to individuals, and the State will protect all religious bodies in the exercise of religious rights "unless found to conflict with law and order and undermine public morals." Under this last provision it might, of course, be possible to interfere with religious freedom. Religious groups are to be allowed to establish private schools to educate their children in their own languages on condition of complying with State reg-

ulations. Other provisions for the rights of the individual are very liberal. Something like the right of *habeas corpus* is provided; homes are inviolable; personal property can be taken only for public interest and against fair compensation; freedom of thought and speech and the press are promised, as well as free and compulsory elementary education for both sexes. Arabic is the official language of Government.

A single Representative Assembly will possess the power of legislation. The President will exercise executive power, with the right to appoint a Ministry subject to the approval of the Assembly. All males of twenty years of age or over may vote by secret ballot for candidates, who must be thirty or over. The Assembly is elected for four years, and it elects the President by majority vote for a term of three years. The Ministry is restricted to seven members, responsible collectively and also individually.

Among the powers entrusted to the President, which have been objected to by the High Commissioner, are the following:

Article 73—The President may not grant general amnesty, but only individual pardons.

Article 74—The President may negotiate and ratify international treaties; except that such as affect the security of the country and the finances of the State, and commercial arrangements extending more than one year, need the approval of the Assembly.

Article 75—The President selects the Prime Minister and appoints the ministers, diplomatic representatives, and civil officials and judges.

Article 112—The President may declare martial law, subject to recommendation from

the Council of Ministers and confirmation by the Assembly.

M. Ponsot also objected to Article 110, which provides for a national army to be organized under a special law, and to Article 2, as described above.

Affairs in the Cabinet of the Lebanon came to a crisis on Aug. 8 and 9. The sessions of Parliament became extremely violent, falling little short of personal combat. Finally a motion was proposed that the number of Ministers in the Cabinet be increased from three to five. The Prime Minister opposed this, and insisted that the vote be a question of confidence. The motion was carried by a large majority and the Cabinet resigned. President Debbas asked Habib Pasha el Saad to form a new Cabinet, which he did.

The Executive Committee of the Palestinian Arab Congress presented to Lord Plumer on July 23, on the eve of his departure, an elaborate memorial, in which it was urgently requested that a Palestinian Parliament be established.

The Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations entered an objection because the treaty between Great Britain and Trans-Jordan was signed and published in advance of obtaining the consent of the League. The Council of the League, however, accepted on Sept. 1 the explanation that the Council's formal consent was unnecessary, because no change had been brought about in Great Britain's full responsibility for applying in Trans-Jordan all provisions of the Palestine mandate.

OTHER EVENTS IN TURKEY AND THE NEAR EAST

TURKEY—Rapid progress is being made toward hastening the adoption of the new alphabet. Some persons began using it before the publication of the official characters. Twenty-nine letters are to be used, of which eight are vowels. The additional letters are formed by adding diacritical marks to *s*, *c* and *g*. Some time must elapse before an exact adaptation is agreed upon for transliteration between the Arabic and Latin scripts. An extensive propaganda is being conducted in favor of the new system, and the whole nation is said to be busy learning to use it.

The Minister of Justice, Mahmud Essad

Bey, announced in July further proposals in the direction of a completer separation of Church and State. He declared that a State is an abstract conception and cannot have a religion. The separation of Church and State, however, in no way implies atheism. Religion will be taken out of politics and entrusted to the conscience of the people.

A second trial of the American teachers at Brusa for alleged Christian propaganda contrary to law began on Sept. 16. Since the first trial Islam has ceased to be the State religion of Turkey, but the law, which leaves religious instruction of persons under

eighteen exclusively to their parents, appears not to have been changed.

EGYPT—The Prime Minister made an address at Tanta on Sept. 13 in which he referred to proposed irrigation and drainage schemes. He stated that the Government had decided to distribute public lands among agricultural laborers and small land owners.

The Premier's visit to Tanta was something of a bold action, inasmuch as the region has been a stronghold for the Wafd Party, which he is holding out of office unconstitutionally. His declaration on this subject was that Parliament had been dissolved in order to establish a more efficient one later. At that time the fundamental principles of the Constitution would be revived. Meanwhile the Government would safeguard constitutional liberties.

SYRIA—Some visitors speak pessimistically about economic conditions in Syria. Import figures continue to amount to nearly double the value of exports. Commerce continues at a low ebb. During the first six months of the present year the unusual number of more than fifty bankruptcies occurred. The underlying cause of the trouble is that Beirut is no longer the port of entry for much of Southern Asia Minor, Palestine, Trans-Jordan and Iraq, as was the case before the World War. Again, new firms composed often of Lebanese from the mountains have attempted to conduct business when already there was a superfluity of older firms. Lately the crops have been very bad and the purchasing power of the farmers has been reduced greatly. Finally, in spite of reductions of taxes on a great many importations the tariff remains still so high that prices are prohibitive to most of the inhabitants.

PALESTINE—The administration of Lord Plumer, which came to an end with July, may be adjudged to have been distinctly successful. He succeeded the suave and diplomatic Sir Herbert Samuel. His term was disturbed by the rebellion in Syria. Then came hard times, while during his whole term of service the Arabs remained unreconciled politically. Nature also created troubles through earthquakes

and locust invasions. In spite of all these difficulties Lord Plumer, both personally and as High Commissioner, maintained a condition of order which allowed the country to settle down politically and economically and enjoy the blessings of peace.

The Zionist organization presented a memorial to the League of Nations, summarizing the situation for the year 1927. They affirmed that the Jewish population of Palestine at the end of the year was about 159,000 or 18 per cent. of the total population, and that 5,073 Jews left Palestine and 2,713 entered. At the close of the year the number of Jews without employment was 6,361. During the year the Zionist executive spent \$750,000 upon the unemployed, much of it by way of giving them construction work on buildings, irrigation and the drainage of swamps.

ARABIA—British opinion has been considerably concerned with the possible consequences of the failure to reach agreement between the British and Hejaz Governments. The question concerned is really a new phase of one that is thousands of years old, the maintenance of a proper balance between "The Desert and the Sown."

Great Britain is disposed to hold that as a mandatary of the League of Nations it is to "civilize the desert." The Arabian King feels, on the contrary, that he too is conducting a civilizing process, and that the nomads, whose Winter quarters lie under his domination, should not find their movements hampered by police posts established south of their Summer pastures. Great Britain desires complete security of the belt between Amman and Bagdad, which promises to become one of the great flying lanes of the world. It is not accidental that the chief British arm which watches the desert in Iraq and Trans-Jordan is the Royal Air Force.

King Ibn Saud may be accomplishing a new transformation of life in Central Arabia through his organization of brotherhoods, or Akhwan. These groups, held together by the triple tie of religious affiliation, military drill and economic instruction, may attain such strength that the wandering Arabs will be tamed beyond all precedent.

At the end of August the Imam Yahya of

Yemen claimed to have won a victory over opposing British forces. He was said to have brought down two airplanes and to have captured 150 men and a large number of horses.

King Ibn Saud is reported to have felt slighted because he was not invited to sign the Kellogg Treaty.

IRAQ—At the end of July a statement was made in Parliament by the Prime Minister, Sir Abdul Muhsin Beg, to the effect that the financial situation was critical, since the whole surplus, amounting to \$350,000, had been paid out in meeting Iraq's instalment of the Ottoman debt. All money that had been appropriated for public improvements had been expended.

Nouri Pasha, Minister of Defence, in a statement in the Iraq Parliament on Aug. 1 as regards conscription, said that voluntary service would be very expensive, and would not insure a sufficiency of reserves.

PERSIA—The election of Persia to one of the non-permanent seats on the Council of the League of Nations represents a truly remarkable advance in prestige for this country, which ten years ago could hardly obtain a hearing before the Peace Conference at Paris, and which nine years ago seemed to have come fully under the control of Great Britain.

The following liberties for Persian women were notified to the police. When riding in a carriage or automobile the top may be let down; women may sit in the same vehicles as men; they may go to the theatre or cinema, but must occupy separate rows of upper seats, in which no man is permitted to sit; they are not to be arrested if seen conversing with men in the streets or other public places; only if under such conditions a woman considers herself molested and calls for help a policeman may come and arrest the offending man, who will be fined. It is also believed that the police have been ordered not to intervene if Persian women appear in the streets without veils and in European costumes.

The Shah is reported to have ordered all Persian men to wear some kind of hat instead of the black skull cap hitherto in use, and to wear a coat and trousers of European cut instead of the pajama-like costume which has prevailed among the common people.

Nearly \$7,000,000 was received in 1927 as royalties from the Anglo-Persian Oil Company.

AFGHANISTAN—A Turkish educational commission recently visited Kabul with the object of revising the curricula of primary and high schools according to Turkish methods.

King Amanullah has continued to modernize Afghanistan with great rapidity through his own decrees and the resolutions of the Jirga, or National Convention. Universal manhood suffrage has been introduced, and a National Assembly of 150 members is to be elected. Compulsory military service has been extended from two years to three. All titles and all ceremonial uniforms and decorations, with the exception of the "Badge of Independence," have been abolished. All forms of complimentary address are likewise discarded, so that even the King and Queen will be addressed simply as "My dear—." The Assembly refused to raise the age of marriage for girls to 18 and for boys to 20. The power of the Mullahs, or religious leaders, has been reduced greatly. Natives must have preaching certificates, and foreigners will not be allowed to serve.

ABYSSINIA—Negus Tafari Makonnen, usually referred to as Ras Tafari, who has been the Regent and with his aunt, the Empress Zaudit (daughter of Menelik II), has ruled Abyssinia for the past ten years, was on Oct. 7 crowned "King of Kings of Ethiopia, the Conquering Lion of Judah and the Elect of God." The honor was bestowed on him by the Empress, with whom he will continue to share the supreme power. He received messages of congratulation on his coronation from President Coolidge and King George.

Chiang Kai-shek Becomes President of China

By HAROLD S. QUIGLEY

PROFESSOR OF POLITICAL SCIENCE, UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA;
CURRENT HISTORY ASSOCIATE

THE brilliant career of General Chiang Kai-shek was crowned on Oct. 9 by his election as President of China, or more strictly speaking, "President of the Government" of China. He is the seventh man to hold the office, which has been vacant since Tsao Kun was ousted by General Feng Yu-hsiang in 1924. Tuan Chi-jui held the title of Provisional President after Tsao's removal, and Chang Tso-lin declared himself dictator, but neither assumed the Presidency.

The manner of Chiang's election was non-constitutional, though it could hardly be called unconstitutional since at present no Constitution of a formal character is in force. Chiang was selected by the Central Executive Committee of the Nationalist Party (Kuomintang), of which he has been the dominant member in consequence of his remarkable successes in bringing the Nationalist revolutionary campaigns to the desired consummation. Recently a change of system was announced for the central Government. Five *Yuans* (councils or boards), each with its own President, were created to replace a number of committees which had handled affairs since the establishment of the Nanking régime. The five announced were to deal respectively with administration, legislation, examination, supervision and justice. Under the councils are eight ministries or departments and four committees. No assembly other than the party congress has yet been provided; consequently the responsibility of officers continues to be toward the party. The Central Executive Committee of the party dominates the entire machinery of government and controls the congress of the party. The State Council which has been established to administer the Government is merely a channel through which the Central Executive Committee directs the affairs of the country. The Presidents of the five *Yuans* are responsible to the Council.

The day on which Chiang was elected President was the first of a three-day cele-

bration of the seventeenth anniversary of the overthrow of the Chinese Empire and the beginning of the republican régime. The following day was kept for the most important ceremonies, since it was on Oct. 10 that the outbreak of the revolution at Wu Chang took place seventeen years ago. The Government celebration centred in Nanking, where Chiang officially assumed his position as President. In the course of the ceremonies, Dr. C. T. Wang, Minister of Foreign Affairs, read the following message from Secretary of State Kellogg, addressed to the American Consul in Shanghai: "Convey to the Chairman of the Government Council of the Nationalist Government the President's cordial felicitations on the anniversary of the publication of the proclamation of the Chinese Republic." Festivities marked the occasion in most of the other larger cities of China, while at Mukden, the capital of Manchuria, the Governor, Chang Hsueh-liang, son of the late Chang Tso-lin, presided over the celebration.

On Oct. 11, the concluding day of the celebration at Nanking, honor was paid to Sun Yat-sen, father of the Chinese revolution and republic. President Chiang and the fifteen men who form with him the new State Council bowed three times before a picture of Sun Yat-sen. They also stood silent before it for three minutes and then pledged obedience to Sun's teachings and to the instructions of the Kuomintang. The ceremonies constituted the method by which the members of the new Council took office under the Chairmanship of Chiang Kai-shek. By virtue of that Chairmanship the latter became the "President of the Government."

Besides Chiang Kai-shek and the five Presidents of *Yuans* the following are also members of the State Council: Sun Fo, son of Sun Yat-sen; Chang Hsueh-liang, Governor of Manchuria and son of Chang Tso-lin; General Feng Yu-hsiang, the "Christian General"; Yen Hsi-shan, war lord of Shansi Province; Li Chung-seu,

Governor of Hankow, and Li Chai-sum, Commander of Canton.

Territorial and political unity in Nationalist China was appreciably furthered during September. The taking of Peking had left unconquered a considerable remnant of the Northern armies under the command of General Chang Tsung-chang and General Sun Chuan-fang. These forces were scattered throughout the Northeastern part of Chihli (now Hopei). They were able, through the aid of Japanese transports, to retake Chefoo in Shantung, but they were at once met with Nationalist troops and prevented from invasion of their former province, with the result that Chefoo itself returned shortly to Nationalist allegiance by the simple device of changing arm-bands. Manchuria did not want its old allies. Chang Hsueh-liang, now engaged in a manifold attempt to carry the heavy responsibilities of Governor and Commander in Manchuria, sought to mediate with Nanking for a "buffer" region under Chang Tsung-chang south of the Great Wall, but failed. The upshot of various manoeuvres was that the "remnant" found itself between two fires, the Nationalist Commander Pai Chung-hsi and the Manchurian army of Yang Yu-ting sent to defend the gateway into Manchuria from an influx of defeated Shantungese. The latter continued to fight, but were heavily outnumbered and forced to capitulate. Their leaders, Chang Tsung-chang, with a harem of twenty-eight, and Sun Chuan-fang, concubines unreported, fled to Dairen, Manchuria. With their departure the whole of China proper except the Southern Provinces of Szechuan and Yunnan came within the orbit of the Nationalist sun.

The cessation of major operations of a military character gave opportunity to the interplay of civilian politics. Several men returned to Kuomintang councils who were not able to fit into the organization when changes took place at the beginning of the year.

It was apparent late in August that Chiang Kai-shek felt uneasy, though no open challenge to his position was reported. On Sept. 3, after a fortnight's absence from Nanking—enforced by a "serious toothache"—he issued an extensive statement justifying himself, condemning imperialism

and urging sacrifice of personal views to the welfare of the cause and the country.

A. H. F. Edwardes and F. W. Maze have been continued as Inspector General and Deputy Inspector General of the Maritime Customs Service. This indicates an inclination to take a practical view of the dual interest—Chinese and foreign—in the continued effective administration of China's principal revenue-producing service and principal security for her largest loans. The Government expects to inaugurate China's first autonomous tariff schedule since 1842 on Jan. 1, 1929, and is preparing the schedule. It is expected to be partially protective in the interest of "infant" industry.

John Earl Baker, representative of the New York Famine Committee, after a second visit to the famine regions of Shantung and Chihli, announced that distress was as great as ever and that the famine area was wider by 60 per cent. than his first report had stated. The sale of marriageable girls to relieve family necessity was increasing. Men, women and children to the number of 2,500,000 face starvation in the region.

A revolt occurred during the latter part of August in the Eastern section of Inner Mongolia which has been governed since 1917 as part of Manchuria. Raids were conducted upon several stations of the Chinese Eastern Railway. Charges that the revolt was instigated by the Government of Outer Mongolia, allied to Soviet Russia, have been denied by the latter and lack evidence to support them. Apparently the Inner Mongolians desire autonomy and are willing to accept Nationalist China's suzerainty on that basis.

In Manchuria, the dispatches indicated, young Chang was waiting the favorable moment to publish his good-will toward the Nationalist Government by hoisting its flag. Meanwhile he maintained a representative at Nanking and sent all correspondence of a diplomatic character to the central Government.

Further evidence on the bombing of the late Chang Tso-lin's train last June was released after a careful investigation by Reuter's Press Agency. The material items in the report concerning what appears likely to take its place alongside the murder of the Queen of Korea in 1895 at the instigation

of the Japanese Minister as a *cause célèbre* in the annals of political crime are:

(a) The explosion was caused by a great quantity of high explosive placed on the Northern pier of the South Manchuria Railway viaduct underneath and beside the Northern and central spans of the bridge.

(b) The ignition of the blasting charges must have been brought about electrically from a safe distance from the bridge. This necessitates elaborate preparations with electric detonators and connecting wires.

(c) The placing of the explosives and their ignition was accomplished with considerable skill and forethought. The whole arrangement and its complete success unmistakably denotes the hands of trained and capable sappers.

(d) Experts agree that the installation of the blasting charges with detonators and connecting wires must have taken four or five experienced men six hours to complete.

(e) The South Manchuria Railway viaduct was patrolled by Japanese guards as usual on the night of the explosion.

The American Department of State announced on Sept. 27 that it regarded the negotiation of the tariff treaty of July 25 as conferring *de jure* recognition. Since a treaty requires approval by the Senate, it would appear that recognition *de jure* has been granted rather by intent of the President than by the mere signature of the treaty. The return of 1,500 United States marines from China is now under way. The anticipated opening of the American Consulate at Nanking with an exchange of salutes excited a difference of opinion between representatives of the two Governments as to which should order the first salute. Clarence J. Spiker was appointed Consul at Nanking, with J. H. Paxton as Vice Consul. China adhered to the multilateral pact, taking the occasion to urge the revision of treaties and removal of foreign troops.

The British Consulate at Nanking was reopened. Germany sent Dr. Wilhelm Wagner, counselor of her legation in China, to Nanking to open diplomatic relations formally and to locate a suitable building, to which she intends to transfer her legation. Italy and France reached a settlement of their claims following the Nanking incident of March, 1927. Japan thus remains the only one of the five countries that has not yet made a settlement.

Dispatches suggested a more practical turn in negotiations with Japan respecting commercial relations. A Nanking emissary to Premier Tanaka explained the Chinese Government's tariff proposals and found him disposed to open discussions. On the

other hand, several slight incidents in Shantung displayed the militarist attitude. The director and assistant director of the Tsingtao wharves were forced out. Chinese engineers sent to survey damages to the Yellow River bridge on the main line from Tientsin to Pukow were refused permission to make the survey, though the bridge is far beyond 20-li zone of Japanese occupation of the Shantung railway. This means that Japan is preventing the resumption of through traffic on China's main line between Tientsin and Shanghai.

A Shanghai dispatch of Oct. 10 stated that reports from the Christian mission in Kansu Province, Western China, indicate that more than 200,000 persons have been slain in an uprising of Mohammedans there. The deaths were attributed to civil warfare and not a massacre. Civil strife has been rampant in the province for many months and was continuing in August when the latest developments were learned in Shanghai. Communication between Kansu and the outside world is primitive.

JAPAN—Trial by jury, made statutory by the Diet nearly six years ago, became effective within a limited sphere on Oct. 1. Its use is restricted to cases under the criminal law in which punishment more severe than imprisonment for three years is prescribed. Males 30 years of age or over are eligible as jurymen.

The marriage of the heir presumptive to the throne, Prince Chichibu, to Miss Setsuki Matsudaira, descendant of one of Japan's most ancient families, but herself a commoner, occurred on Sept. 28 before the sanctuary of the Sun Goddess in the Imperial Palace.

The anxiety of the Japanese Government that the United States comprehend its Chinese policy may be realized from the fact that Count Yasuya Uchida, formerly Foreign Minister, now a privy councillor, who represented Japan at the signing of the multilateral pact in Paris, paid an official visit to Washington in order to explain Japan's policies. He referred to Japan's attitude toward the open door policy as identical with that of the United States. Without qualifying clauses, he declared that Japan regards Manchuria as an integral part of China and entertains no program of annexation or protectorate establishment there.

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men, said himself, "It is all my fault." While Longstreet was very likely also at fault, still, as commander, Lee had and accepted the responsibility, whereas a man with "a weak character" under such circumstances would have called attention, and very truthfully, to Longstreet's failure to obey orders.

HENRY C. ROWE.

* * *

The Editor wishes to explain that the two reviews of Professor Fay's book, *The Origins of the World War*, by Professor Harry Elmer Barnes and Professor Herbert Adams Gibbons, respectively, were announced on the cover before a last-minute notice was received from the publisher that publication of the book would be deferred until Nov. 23. The two reviews will appear in the December issue.

* * *

THE MEANING OF "NANU."

To the Editor of Current History:

In reading the article by Henry de Jouvenel, "The War Due to a German-Austrian Plot to Dominate the Balkans," which appeared in the September issue of your magazine, I found a German word which was incorrectly translated into English. And to make matters worse, M. de Jouvenel describes it as a "child's word." I refer to the word *nanu*, which the former German Emperor is alleged to have written on the margin of the Czar's proposal to have the Austro-Serbian problem submitted to the Hague Conference. *Nanu* is Low-German and means in English something like "Ah, what's this!" According to this, William II did not write "No, indeed!", but simply expressed his surprise at the Russian proposal. Consequently there is no need to lay the German Government's rejection of the proposal upon the shoulders of the former Emperor. *Nanu* is in common use among all classes in Germany; it bears no disguised meaning, and, if anything, is a "man's word."

JOSEPH E. SCHUECKER.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

* * *

FRANK T. MEACHAM writes from the American Board Mission station at Chikore, South Rhodesia, Africa:

In the issue of *CURRENT HISTORY* for June, 1928, there was an interesting and informing article by Wynant D. Hubbard entitled "Africa Emerging from Darkness." In the last paragraph he says: "The natives, too, are intelligent. If they are not bothered by missionaries and are allowed to develop slowly and naturally, they will contribute enormously to the development of the country."

We cannot admit the author's statement, by which he evidently means to imply that it is the missionaries, by their bothering of the

native, who are keeping him from developing slowly and naturally. What is it that is breaking down the native social order? It is his contact with white civilization in the mines and cities and on the farms. The native cannot develop "slowly and naturally" when he is called to take part in the commercial and industrial life of the white man.

The missionary, through industrial education, is fitting the native to be a better workman in the industrial world and, through moral and religious training, is trying to lay a basis for character building which is sorely needed. The native, through his contact with civilization, loses some of the superstitions and inhibitions of the old life and, having nothing to take their place, is apt to go to the other extreme of license. The missionaries are endeavoring to direct the native's rising aspirations into the right channel, and so help him to develop as "slowly and as naturally" as is possible in the situation in which he is placed.

The Government of Southern Rhodesia in 1927 gave to missionary societies educational grants totaling £40,000. The Government realizes that the natives need education and character training to fit them to live in this new day in Africa which is "emerging from darkness," as Mr. Hubbard so well points out.

* * *

Although a standing notice in the Table of Contents states that the titles of all articles are written by the Editors, in consequence of letters that the Rev. Courtenay Hughes Fenn has received taking exception to the title of the article which he contributed to the October issue of CURRENT HISTORY on the present position of the Protestant Churches, he desires us to make it clear that he was not responsible for the title which appeared above his article.

* * *

CHICAGO CRIME CONDITIONS.

To the Editor of Current History:

I have just been reading the article, "Chicago, the Nation's Crime Centre," in the September issue of your publication. I wish to call your attention to the paragraph on page 893 as follows: "What happened at the primary is now history. 'Big Bill' Thompson, Mayor of Chicago, was defeated in his race for renomination * * *." The Mayor of Chicago, unfortunately in the present instance, at least, is elected for four years. Mayor Thompson has two more years to serve and was not a candidate in any sense of the word. Mr. Lowden's article is so obviously prejudiced and inaccurate that I could not let it pass without a protest. The truth about Chicago conditions is bad enough without any biased embellishments.

CAL. R. FISK,
Managing Editor, *The Standard Quarterly Review*, Chicago.

* * *

The name of Bernhard J. Stern, Assistant Professor of Sociology, University of Washington, Seattle, was incorrectly spelled as "Stein" in connection with his book review of *Race and Civilization* in October CURRENT HISTORY.

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World Finance—A Month's Survey

By D. W. ELLSWORTH

ASSISTANT EDITOR OF *The Annalist*

FOR more than half a century the bankers of the United States have been meeting in annual convention, but never before the one held in the first week in October of this year has such nation-wide, nay world-wide, interest attached to these gatherings. The reason is not far to seek. As the guardians of the nation's credit resources, which are the very life blood of a large part of the world's commerce and trade, the bankers of this country are face to face with a new problem, or at least with an old problem in an entirely new form, for the solution of which the most exhaustive financial history can be searched and no answer found.

The problem, whether recognized as such or not, is familiar to everyone who reads the daily papers; that it practically affects our future welfare is evident from the serious consideration given to it by the convention. It is not putting it too strongly to state that the concern felt by the bankers over the present state and use of bank credit, particularly with reference to its absorption by the stock market, constituted one of the two major topics of discussion.

The resolutions finally adopted, after lengthy discussion in committee, merely suggested that "nothing unsound shall be allowed to develop that might result in the disturbance of * * * healthy business conditions" and recommended that "the Federal Reserve Board in its regulations give due consideration to the situation of the great body of member banks." That the bankers in public convention should be unable to agree on a concrete program for dealing with such a critical problem is not surprising, the important thing being, of course, the fact that the credit situation was given as much attention as it was. Neither is it strange that the problem should be referred to the Federal Reserve Board, where it properly belongs. The surprising thing is that Governor Young of the Federal Reserve Board in his speech before the convention placed, by implication at least, a great deal of responsibility for present conditions and possible future consequences on the commercial bankers. No one, of course, any longer questions the fact that the present diversion of bank credit into speculative channels had its inception in the arbitrary creation by the Reserve Board of additional credit facilities a year ago. Neither is there any reason to doubt that the Reserve Board, by the adoption of a firm instead of a vacillating policy last February, when the market showed signs of weakening, could have prevented the speculative orgy which began in

March, continued with brief resting periods through the Summer, and up to the middle of October was becoming more violent day by day.

The second major interest of the convention was in the energetic and systematic way in which the more progressive bankers of the country are undertaking to adopt and to enforce everywhere the standards and methods of sound banking. The phrase "sound banking" doubtless has an unfamiliar ring to people living in the great industrial and urban areas of the country, for unsound banking is commonly thought to be a more or less absurd relic of the dim and distant past. It was pointed out in more than one of the addresses, however—something which dwellers in agricultural regions realize all too well—that there are too many banks and too many bankers, especially too many inefficient bankers. For the improvement of such conditions among its own membership the convention adopted suitable remedial measures, which through its permanent organization it will at once proceed to attempt to enforce and which if successful will be not only a splendid accomplishment to the credit of the organized bankers of America but of lasting benefit to American business and American agriculture.

Apart from the boom in the stock market, the really interesting aspect of current financial history is the boom in industrial activity. The word I have just used is, I do not need to be reminded, taboo in the premises, for it connotes the boom of 1920, and another like it we can not, must not and shall not have. But steel ingot production in September, allowing for seasonal factors, was greater than in any previous month, with two exceptions. October output will unquestionably show a sharp increase over that of September. A similar statement holds for automobile production. Wholesale and retail trade is increasing in volume, and two basic industries which have been depressed for comparatively long periods are showing distinct signs of revival. These industries are the bituminous coal and the cotton textile industries. About all that has been lacking to complete the picture of abnormally active trade has been an increase in the volume of freight carried by the railroads. For a long time freight car loadings have lagged behind other major business indicators, and this has raised serious doubts as to the breadth of the revival indicated, for example, by record activity in the construction, steel and automobile industries. But car loadings of practically all classes of

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freight are now on the increase. Prices of industrial commodities, particularly copper, steel, petroleum, and coal, are showing a firmer tendency. Industrial activity has not, of course, reached the dizzy heights of 1920.

Late in September sterling exchange, under the double influence of a much higher level of interest rates in New York than in London and the usual Fall exports of agricultural products from the United States declined to a point at which it became profitable for international bankers to ship gold from London to New York. Up to the middle of October, however, these shipments had not assumed large proportions, only about \$13,000,000 having been engaged up to that time. Following the announcement of the last shipment the exchange rate rose sharply, which seemed to indicate that the movement was over with for the time being, although further shipments are likely if money rates in New York reverse their current easier tendency. That greater gold shipments did not result from the disparity between the New York and London money markets was due largely to the condition of the money market in Berlin, where, as pointed out previously in these columns, rates have been extremely high. Another important factor is the attitude of the Reichsbank, which is not averse, as our own Federal Reserve Board

apparently still is, to gold imports. This accounts for the fact that although the Bank of England's gold reserve decreased some \$44,000,000 in the four weeks ended Oct. 10, most of the metal went to Berlin. Up to the middle of October, however, the London money market remained easy despite the loss of gold. This is explained partly by the fact that the Bank of England has all along offset the effects of gold imports and exports by open market operations in Government securities. The bank's gold holdings on Oct. 10 were still \$80,000,000 higher than on the corresponding date last year and the London money market was thus in a position to withstand further withdrawals of gold.

The Bank of France has further increased its gold reserves, partly through a very successful effort to persuade peasants and others to turn in their hoards in exchange for paper francs. The bank has made lavish use of its huge foreign exchange holdings, especially in this country, to prevent the exchange rate from falling, as it otherwise naturally would have done in view of the fact that money rates in France are below those in London and far below the prevailing levels in Berlin and New York. Except for this, gold would undoubtedly be flowing in heavy volume from France to both Germany and the United States.

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CURRENT HISTORY

VOL. XXIX

DECEMBER, 1928

NO. 3

THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1928.....	353
PRESIDENT-ELECT HOOVER: AN INTIMATE STUDY.....	<i>Ray Lyman Wilbur</i> 359
CROSS-CURRENTS IN THE ELECTION.....	<i>Albert Bushnell Hart</i> 367
ANALYZING THE ELECTION RESULTS.....	<i>Fabian Franklin</i> 370
CAUSES OF GOVERNOR SMITH'S DEFEAT.....	<i>Bishop James Cannon Jr.</i> 373
A CATHOLIC VIEW OF THE ELECTION.....	<i>Rev. John A. Ryan</i> 377
RELIGIOUS PREJUDICE IN THE ELECTION.....	<i>Patrick Henry Callahan</i> 381
ROBERT LANSING'S RECORD AS SECRETARY OF STATE.....	<i>Lester H. Woolsey</i> 384
THE DANGER OF AMERICAN LOANS TO EUROPE.....	<i>Francesco Nitti</i> 397
WHAT IS INSANITY?.....	<i>Joseph Jastrow</i> 403
GERMANY REGAINS HER POSITION AS A EUROPEAN POWER.....	<i>James P. Roe</i> 425
COLONEL HOUSE'S LATEST DISCLOSURES.....	<i>William MacDonald</i> 430
PLIGHT OF PORTO RICAN SCHOOLS AFTER THE HURRICANE.....	<i>Elizabeth K. Van Deusen</i> 434
PROFESSOR FAY'S BOOK ON THE ORIGINS OF THE WORLD WAR:	
I—GERMANY'S RESPONSIBILITY STILL UNSHAKEN.....	<i>Herbert Adams Gibbons</i> 441
II—THE REVISIONISTS VINDICATED.....	<i>Harry Elmer Barnes</i> 443
THE RETURN OF VENIZELOS TO POWER IN GREECE.....	<i>Adamantios T. Polyzoides</i> 449
AHMED ZOGU, "KING OF THE ALBANIANS".....	<i>Nelo Drizuri</i> 455
RELIGIOUS TEACHING IN THE GERMAN SCHOOLS.....	<i>Paul D. Miller</i> 458
AUSTRALIA'S LEADING STATE REJECTS PROHIBITION.....	<i>Ernest Osborne</i> 460
DENIAL OF THE FRANCHISE TO FRENCH WOMEN.....	<i>Simone France</i> 463
IMMUNITY TO TUBERCULOSIS (Recent Scientific Progress).....	<i>Watson Davis</i> 468
AERIAL EVENTS OF THE MONTH.....	471

A MONTH'S WORLD HISTORY CURRENT HISTORY ASSOCIATES

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FEATURES IN ROTOGRAVURE AND ADVERTISING SECTIONS

PICTURES IN ROTOGRAVURE..... 409-424

BOOK REVIEWS:

CHARLES EVANS HUGHES ON AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY (Charles Cheney Hyde); MEXICO IN A NEW LIGHT (Paul Vanorden Shaw); A SURVEY OF EVOLUTION (Vernon Kellogg); THE END OF THE CZARS (A. M. Nikolaleff); BRIEF BOOK REVIEWS

RECENT IMPORTANT BOOKS.....*James Thayer Gerould*

TO AND FROM OUR READERS.....*Editorial Department*

CAUSES OF THE STOCK MARKET BOOM.....*D. W. Ellsworth*

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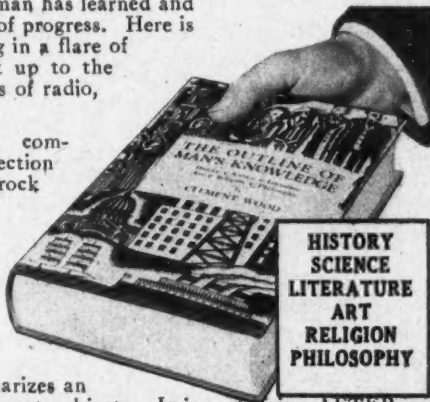
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DECEMBER, 1928

NO. 3

Charles Evans Hughes on American Foreign Policy

By CHARLES CHENEY HYDE

PROFESSOR OF INTERNATIONAL LAW AND DIPLOMACY, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

THIS small book* embodies the Stafford Little Lectures delivered by Mr. Hughes at Princeton University in 1928.

Following a brief consideration of the Monroe Doctrine and of what the United States asserts the right to prevent by virtue of it, the author emphasizes the fact that his country has other policies in relation to the American continents which should not be confounded with that doctrine. He adverts to what may be called the Panama Canal doctrine, which he describes in these words:

We deem it to be essential to our national safety to hold the control of the canal and we could not yield to any foreign Power the maintaining of any position which would interfere with our right adequately to protect the canal or would menace its approaches or the freedom of our communications. This applies just as well to American Powers as to non-American Powers. (Page 19.)

It will be recalled that this theory, of which Mr. Hughes may well claim the authorship, was proclaimed by him in the course of an address which he delivered at Philadelphia on Nov. 30, 1923, under the auspices of the American Academy of Political and Social Science and the Philadelphia Forum.

In discussing our relations with Canada, Mr. Hughes, after noting the successful operation of the International Joint Commission established under the treaty of 1909, emphasizes the practical importance of joint commissions as a means of adjusting issues which Governments are reluctant to entrust to the absolute decision of a neutral arbitrator. Mr. Hughes declares that the unanimity of most of the decisions of the International Joint Commission representing the United States and Canada points to the ease with which many difficulties yield to the mere process of investigation. He adds that we have used "too rarely

this sort of instrumentality in relation to international controversies."

The author deals at length with the recognition policy of the United States, particularly in relation to questions concerning the recognition of governments under Central American treaties. In so doing he shows why the United States, although not a party to the Central American convention of 1923, does not disregard its provisions, and is, accordingly, reluctant to recognize a Central American régime which attains power through a *coup d'état* or a revolution against a recognized government, so long as the freely elected representatives of the people thereof have not constitutionally reorganized the country. He declares that it is not clear that the United States would not have brought upon itself greater troubles if it had disregarded the provisions of the treaty and had taken the side of revolutionists as against constitutional governments.

In a chapter on "Intervention and Protection of Lives and Property" Mr. Hughes seemingly deplors the tendency to chronicle interventions "without reference to our treaty rights and obligations." He dwells upon events which led to the consummation of our treaties with the Dominican Republic in 1907 and with Haiti in 1915. He does well to press the distinction between "intervention," as that term is employed by writers on international law, and interposition of an essentially non-political character, exercised simply for the purpose of protecting lives and property of nationals. He thus refers to the practice of his own country in relation to the matter:

On our part there is no disposition to forego our right to protect our nationals when their lives and property are imperiled because the sovereign power for the time being and in certain districts cannot be exercised and there is no government to afford protection. . . . It is manifest that we should make clear precisely what we propose to do and what we propose not to do. It should be evident that our

**Our Relations to the Nations of the Western Hemisphere.* By Charles Evans Hughes. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1928. 124 pp.



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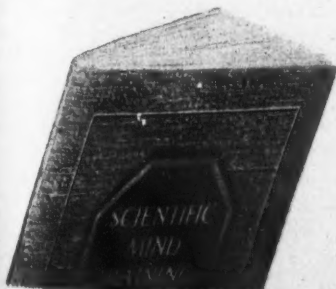
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policy is that of non-intervention; that we limit our interposition to a pressing exigency well established; that we are not seeking control of the peoples of other lands or to interfere with the governments they desire; that our purposes are reasonable and can readily be justified to governments that accept the principles of international law and perform their admitted international obligations. (Page 83).

Mr. Hughes sets forth tersely the story of the efforts for the pacific settlement of disputes between the American States. He notes aspirations of the several Pan-American conferences, and points to the terms of the significant resolution of the Havana Conference of 1928, providing for the meeting of jurists about to convene in Washington. He appreciates as keenly as does any American the limits which statesmen are disposed to place upon the uses of arbitration; yet he regards hopefully the ability and disposition of the commission of jurists (upon which it is understood that Mr. Hughes and the Secretary of State are to serve as the representatives of the United States) to devise a practical plan not only to permit the largest possible use of arbitration but also to provide by other processes for the amicable adjustment of those grave and war-producing differences which States sometimes yearn to endeavor to settle by the sword. His discussion of the matter is highly interesting.

The author doubts the wisdom of an essentially political organization of American States, and he questions the need of an American court of international justice. "Practical considerations" do not, in his judgment, favor its establishment.

In brief compass Mr. Hughes has given an accurate and much-needed statement of principles on which his country is disposed to act. The outstanding feature of the book is the sense conveyed to the reader that the distinguished author is of opinion that sound appraisal of the policies of the United States in relation to its neighbors of this hemisphere depends upon full understanding of the rights and obligations that international law confers and imposes, respectively, upon each.

Mexico in a New Light

By PAUL VANORDEN SHAW
HISTORY DEPARTMENT, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

DILETTANTISM, prejudice and preconception have been the most marked characteristics of books in English on Latin America as a whole or its parts. Falling roughly into four classes, the first is books of travel stressing the peculiar concepts, customs and costumes of the natives, as observed by the authors during sojourns lasting

from one day to six months. In the second group are the books written from the evangelistic and paternalistic points of view. Their authors are generally missionaries and Pan-Americanists. Believers in the superiority of North American Christianity and civilization, they are interested in propagating their advanced ideas and ideals. The measure of their worth is in inverse proportion to the bias of the author. Books for and against intervention and imperialism and on inter-American relations fill the third category. Since nationalism is involved, it is inevitable that the products should reflect the emotional reaction of the authors to their subject. A noteworthy exception in this class is Rippey's *The United States and Mexico*. Lastly, there are histories and books on special phases of Latin-American life and institutions. Priestly's *The Mexican Nation* is a scholarly history, yet he "grasps things by the tops, rather than by the roots," as some one has said.

But now, in this book on Mexico* by Ernest Gruening, we have an author who has dug deeply into the soil and uncovered the roots, trunk, branches, flowers and fruits of Mexican history and life. It is a work that does not fall in any of the groups mentioned above, for it shows how books on Latin America should be written. Mr. Gruening has, in fact, developed a new technique of writing on countries which have a large Indian population and has pointed the way to the economic interpretation of Latin-American history. He has written of Mexico as the most scientific, modern, social and economic historian might write the history of the United States or of France. The author did not approach his problem as though he were going to write about people with queer ideas, habits and dress. With the determination of a crusader he set out to get facts, face facts and present facts. Mexico was to him an independent nation, the only one bordering on the United States, having domestic and foreign problems to solve and a population of human beings, all normal in needs and desires.

The ideology of Pan-Americanism and evangelism did not blind the author to the fundamental fact that American peoples and nations are subject to the same influences and react to those influences in the same manner as do all other peoples and nations. When this continent ceases to be thought of as "set apart," as "God's continent," or inhabited by brothers conscious of their brotherhood, more natural policies will be formulated for its international life, better and more scientific, books like this one will appear.

In the past Mr. Gruening finds the explanation of Mexico today. But, curiously enough,

**Mexico and Its Heritage*. By Ernest Gruening. New York: The Century Company. \$6.



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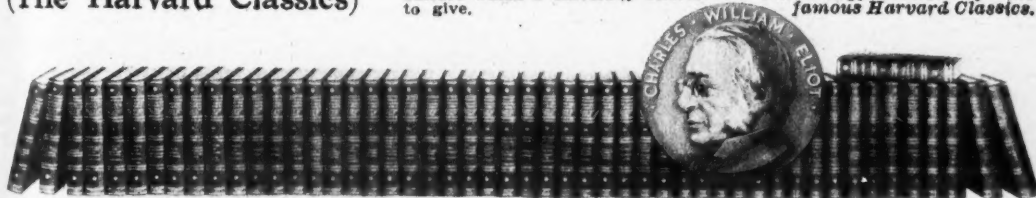
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as compared with the heritage and past of other writers, he makes the obvious discovery that Mexico had both a father and a mother. Many studies are to be found on the European background of Mexican history; and many books on the ancient civilizations of Mexico, but none has shown better than Mr. Gruening how the present-day Mexican and many of his ideas and institutions are derived from both elements of his background, the Indian and the Spanish. Very artfully he weaves together the threads of Aztec and Spanish contributions to the present-day rug representing Mexico, with its rich variety of design, color and texture, for, as he himself says, there is as yet no Mexican nationality. The study of the past explains customs and institutions but not man. Anthropology and allied sciences are still too young to decipher conclusively the object of their search. "It is," Mr. Gruening says, "man in Mexico who is unexplainable to himself. * * * It is the study of man from his origins that may some day illuminate what is now a mystery and help bring a solution."

In a noteworthy preface the author describes his purpose, his difficulties and what he believes he has achieved in the book. He says: "International good will and peace are deeply involved in the relations of the United States with Mexico. * * * Knowledge and still more knowledge are prerequisite." The questions which sent this newspaper man (now the editor of the *Evening News*, at Portland, Me.) on his quest are these: "Why are there revolutions in Mexico? Will they continue? What underlies the recurrent religious conflict? What causes the unceasing friction between the Governments of Mexico and the United States? * * * Why is Mexico a so-called backward nation?" He found no solution in the published material, but he did find it, however, in Mexico's past: "The contemporary revolution is the culmination of an entire past. Continuity is the marrow of Mexican history beneath the changing surface. The time element is the transcendent factor in the understanding of that country." The ideal person to answer these questions, Mr. Gruening says, must be a trained historian, an ethnologist, a social scientist; must be learned in comparative jurisprudence, and must have moderate proficiency not only in Spanish but in Aztec. Lack of these qualifications explains the existence of so many superficial works in the Latin-American field. But few persons have all the qualifications. Mr. Gruening partially overcame his lack of training in some of the fields mentioned by reading. A glance at his bibliography will prove that.

The author will be satisfied if he makes Mexico more understandable and arouses interest in Mexican research "not to combat but to a greater understanding and sympathy."

When one reads the rather harsh things he has to say about Mexico and the United States one should keep in mind his primary aim as stated in the preface. Hard truths never hurt so much as when they are uttered in a kindly spirit, and that is Mr. Gruening's throughout. This personal statement by the author evokes one from the reviewer. He has always picked up books on Latin America with the avowed purpose of burying and not praising, and in most cases the interment has gone on uninterrupted by any eulogy. But this time, like Mark Antony, he is compelled to praise. He is willing to assert that Mr. Gruening's book is by far the best that has been written about Latin America or any part thereof. When fully appreciated it will revolutionize the writing of works on Latin America and will long remain the only adequate work on Mexico.

The book contains 728 pages and is extremely well documented. There are twenty-five pages of bibliography, with over 625 titles, which, the author says, is only a partial list of the material he consulted. It is safe to hazard the guess that well over 75 per cent. of this material is Mexican or Spanish in origin. Much of it is primary source material, and some is used for the first time. In all the chapters of a controversial nature and where national pride might feel deeply hurt, Mr. Gruening has substantiated his statements by reference to Mexican, Spanish and clerical writers. His is no superficial American, Protestant and Anglo-Saxon point of view and attack. No Mexican can ever feel that this is another effusion of another Yankee imperialist. Nor can the American feel aggrieved if his tender sense of loyalty to hundred per centism is touched. Out of our own mouths does he condemn our policies and representatives. Yet, going down to Mexico as an anti-imperialist, Mr. Gruening is the first to admit that in many of the questions between the two nations the stand of our State Department, in his judgment, is the correct one—points which are made capital of by the anti-imperialists themselves.

Mr. Gruening has constantly compared Mexican movements with comparable movements in the United States, France and Russia. These comparisons vivify and clarify the story. They give the lay reader intelligible and tangible points of contact with Mexican affairs. He compares the English, Spanish and Aztec conceptions of land tenure and shows how natural in the light of her past is the legislation of present-day Mexico in regard to land. He compares a book appearing in 1908, called *The Presidential Succession*, by Francisco Madero Jr., to Thomas Paine's *Common Sense*. Later he draws a comparison between Boston's boycott of certain types of literature with the censorship of the press as practiced at times in Mexico.



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The style is sparkling, alive and forceful, and the illustrations and metaphors well chosen. Common sense, fairness and thoroughness are salient features of the work throughout. Wonderful to relate *Mexico and Its Heritage* actually answers the most perplexing questions that have bothered all those who have thought about Mexico's destiny and her relations to the United States. Much of Mr. Gruening's discussion of recent affairs in Mexico is based on his own observation. That he was judicious is demonstrated in his chapter on the judiciary. He set out to interview fifteen lawyers; he actually interviewed twenty-two. Yet Mr. Gruening's own observations did not tally with the testimony of the lawyers he interviewed, and his picture of the administration of justice is much brighter than theirs.

In regard to the population of Mexico Mr. Gruening says: "Mexico's Indian heritage is her people. While the pre-conquest culture persists virtually *in toto* in many remote sections of Mexico * * * some survivals have worked through every social stratum. * * * The Indian is in no better position than that he held at the conquest. * * * Both races are worse off for their unnatural relationship. That is the Mexican's racial inheritance. * * * Understanding the Indians, the bedrock of Mexico's people, on whom the nation must be built, would seem of transcendent importance." The disparity of time, the author says, is the most important factor in the relationship of the Indians with the Spanish. The Indian has had no time to catch up with the Spaniard.

On the question of the relationship of land to the Church Mr. Gruening makes the following comment: "There seems to be a definite relation between the peasants' concern in the clerical controversy and the benefit they have derived from agrarian reform. Where they have received land they apparently care little or less about the absence of a priest and his services. Land fills their lives!"

Discussing the army he says: "Militarism and its twin brother, politics, involve the greatest problems facing Mexico today." The army, Mr. Gruening says, was conceived in treason, and that treason has become a habit. And about its twin brother, politics, he points out that the spoils conception of office and the "absence of a national commercial structure drive the literate into some sort of governmental employ." He then devotes paragraphs to *personalismo* in Mexican life: "Personalities, therefore, appear of unusual importance in Mexico, and they are. Contemporary social theory emphasizes that * * * the individual no longer counts appreciably * * * but in Mexico * * * a man counts surprisingly—for good or ill."

When Mr. Gruening takes up the long history of friction between the United States and Mexico he comes to the most controversial part of his subject, and this chapter can be fully appreciated only by reading it in its entirety. He says fear of the United States has been one of the most important factors in modifying and shaping Mexico's destiny. Therefore, her foreign policy "has come to express the supreme urge among nations, as among individuals—self-preservation."

To improve the relations between the two countries Mr. Gruening recommends that the United States engage "in a competitive contest of this hemisphere by good-will. This method, as a governmental procedure, remains to be tried by the United States. * * * Wise statesmanship in Washington and Mexico City could make it [a Mexican-American entente] a reality in an incredibly short time. * * * The stake in the relationship of the two countries is very much larger than the total value of American investments in Mexico."

The brightest note in regard to the future of Mexico is struck by the author when he describes Mexican labor: "Yet with all its errors, shortcomings, failures and internal weaknesses, the labor movement is the most vital, the most dynamic and the most hopeful force in Mexico today. It has been * * * singularly self-controlled, 'an organization' [whose] ideology and cohesiveness mark an unprecedented achievement. * * * The labor movement has served as an educative force of inestimable value. * * * [It is the] first and only bulwark against militarism since independence. * * * Though still in swaddling clothes, it can shape the destiny of Mexico and shape it for a more promising future than that unhappy land has envisaged in five centuries."

A Survey of Evolution

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THE Fundamentalist campaign has been the stimulus of much recent writing and talking about Evolution. There is a steady outpouring of Evolution books. Every now and then a really notable one appears. *Creation by Evolution** is such a one.

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**Creation by Evolution. A Consensus of Present-day Knowledge as Set Forth by Leading Authorities in Non-Technical Language That All May Understand.* Edited by Frances Mason. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1928. \$5.



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tion of the tariff, the evolution of the sun, the evolution of the universe. Also, one speaks of the evolution of the plants and animals and of the evolution of man. When biologists and geologists use the word evolution they have usually in mind the evolution on the earth of the plants, animals and man. When the Fundamentalists speak in their pleasant way of evolution, they are thinking primarily of the origin of man. They do not much care if the birds are descended from reptiles, but they do care much if a near relationship with man is claimed for the apes.

Creation by Evolution is a book exclusively about organic evolution, that is, about the evolution of plants and animals. It includes man among the animals and does not hesitate to discuss in a sane and non-hysterical way the evidences of human relationship with the lower animals. But the book treats of a much larger field of evolution than that of the evolution of man alone. It treats indeed in a most authoritative, although not dogmatic, way of the whole field of organic evolution, giving prime attention to the evidences for the reality of evolution.

The book is in the highest degree authoritative, because it is written, not by one man but by more than a score of men, every one a recognized authority in some particular field of biological and geological science. Each of these authors has written his chapter or essay quite independently of the others, but all these chapters have been so well selected and coordinated by Mrs. Frances Mason, the editor, that the book is not a hodgepodge but a real book, of coherent parts and consistent organization. And it has been written not for technicians but for the intelligent general public, and, I may add, successfully so written. There will be found in it few stumbling blocks for the non-scientific reader.

Its comprehensiveness can be made most obvious by giving the titles of its chapters, and its authority can at the same time be revealed by giving the names of the writers of these chapters.

A foreword is written by Henry Fairfield Osborn, the distinguished American paleontologist and anthropologist, and an introduction by Sir Charles Scott Sherrington, the distinguished English physiologist. Under the title "Evolution—Its Meaning," David Starr Jordan of Stanford University, explains the scientific man's understanding of evolution, and J. Arthur Thomson, the gifted Scotch naturalist of Aberdeen University, explains "Why We Must Be Evolutionists." In "Can We See Evolution Occurring?" Jennings of Johns Hopkins, the famous student of the one-celled animals, answers the question in the affirmative. Parker of Harvard discusses "Vestigial Organs," pointing out their testimony for evolution; and Mac-

Bride of the Imperial College of Science and Technology in London writes of "Evolution as Shown by the Advancement of the Individual Organism."

Conklin of Princeton shows the evolutionary significance of the phenomena of embryology, and Scott of the same university the significance of the geographical distribution of animals. Francis A. Bather, head of the department of geology of the British Museum, tells the story of "The Record of the Rocks." Gregory of the University of Glasgow discusses "The Nature of Species" and Smith Woodward, medalist of the Royal Society, describes "The Progression of Life on Earth." Gager, director of the Brooklyn Botanic Garden, explains the evolution of plants, and Berry of Johns Hopkins recites the "Story Told by Fossil Plants." Poulton of Oxford, the authority on the uses of color and pattern among animals, gives a fascinating glimpse of color use by moths and butterflies as an evidence of evolution. Sir Arthur Shipley of Cambridge describes the evolution of the bees, and Wheeler of Harvard, the world's authority on ants, writes their evolutionary story. Loomis of Amherst tells of the "Evolution of the Horse and Elephant" and Watson of the University of London of the "Evolution of the Bird."

And then we come to man. Gregory of Columbia discusses "The Lineage of Man." Holmes of the University of California describes "The Human Side of Apes," Elliot Smith of the University of London explains the "Evolution of the Brain" and Lloyd Morgan, the veteran British psychologist, writes of "Mind in Evolution." Finally, Julian Huxley of the Royal Institution, distinguished grandson of a more distinguished grandfather, writes of "Progress Shown in Evolution," and Newman of the University of Chicago sums up the "Cumulative Evidence for Evolution."

It is, thus, a brilliant galaxy of contributors that Mrs. Mason has been able to assemble for the production of the book. These contributors are divided almost equally between those of British and American allegiance. They are not restricted to any one evolutionary school. Darwinians and Lamarckians are both represented by outstanding disciples. It is a broadminded book. The subjects treated run all the way from the evolution of the ants to the evolution of the elephants, from the evolution of the lower plants to the evolution of man. It is a book of broad outlook. It is a book of good science and good writing—hence of good reading. It is the most notable book about evolution, written in popular language and comprehensive in scope, that has appeared in a long time.

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The End of the Czars

By A. M. NIKOLAIIEFF

FORMER COLONEL IN THE RUSSIAN ARMY

OPENING with the preliminary statement that "this is not a formal history of Russia; it is a story of the triumph of folly in Russia and the penalty she paid for that historic madness," the author of this book* proceeds to give a vivid and sweeping account of the major events of the Revolution. Special attention is devoted to the last days of the Imperial family and the hideous massacre at Ekaterinburg, the author having made a conscientious study of the source material and told the story accurately and in detail. Advances were made to the Czar by the German Embassy in Moscow to get him out of Russia, but he refused pointblank to accede to them and "was murdered because of his unshakable loyalty to the cause of the Allies." Considerable space is given to the part played by the Empress and to her characteristics. The extracts from her letters which are quoted to show her influence over Nicholas II may, however, also serve as evidence of unbounded devotion and love which are rare. Despite Dr. Walsh's criticism of the Empress he expresses the opinion that "she did

nothing that a wife and mother might not have done in similar circumstances."

An illuminating account is given of the chaos and anarchy which characterized the period extending from the abdication of the Czar to the Bolshevik *coup*, due largely to the existence of two revolutionary centres—the Provisional Government and the Petrograd Soviet. The central figure of that period was Kerensky, whose blunders were one of the main causes of the second revolution and the triumph of Lenin. The story of Lenin with the portrayal of him as a man who "became a personification of will power devoid of the control of conscience and consecrated to world revolution" is one of the most interesting chapters of the book. Lenin's "unmoral" ethics and his belief "that the purely economic motive has been the determining element in all human activity" are brought out very clearly. With the advent of Bolshevism marking "the opening of a new tragedy" the story of the Revolution comes to an end.

As an analysis of the "facts in the case" which, according to the author, were the ultimate causes of the Empire's collapse, and as a retrospect of Russian history under the Romanovs and also in the earlier periods, as far back as the Tartar domination, the work contains statements, views and conclusions with which it is not always possible to concur. Among the causes of the catastrophe Dr. Walsh points to "the bewildering ethnological composition" of her population which "contained within itself * * * the seeds of

**The Fall of the Russian Empire. The Story of the Last Romanovs and the Coming of the Bolsheviks.* By Edmund A. Walsh. Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1928.

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fratricidal strife and bloody revolution." But he does not take into consideration the fact that out of the "over two hundred unassimilated nationalities" the population of Russian stock, professing the same (Greek) religion, constituted 67 per cent., that the number of Poles was 6 per cent. and that thus only about one-fourth of the whole population was made up of non-Slavonic nationalities. Such a composition can hardly be regarded as a "heterogeneous admixture of races," or an "ethnological museum." The estimate of sectarians in the Greek Church at one-third of the population is an exaggeration. In 1851 and 1870 they numbered, at the most, about 12 per cent., and if that proportion grew later, which is doubtful, the increase could not have been considerable. For the greater part, the sectarians were a conservative element, the question of faith being their greatest concern, and after 1905 their religious status was officially recognized by the Government. That "they constituted a socio-political factor * * * smouldering with resentment and ripe for explosion" is a statement with which one can hardly agree.

What made Russia's destiny sweep "to its finale with the inevitability of a Greek tragedy" and doomed the dethroned monarch was, the author maintains, "the sins and imbecilities of three hundred years of misrule." It was Peter the Great, "the typical despot," who "first started the Russian State on the wrong path. * * * Under his imperious will Russia for the first time assumed international importance, but it was achieved at the expense of internal stability. He created a Colossus * * * but its feet were of clay; the Allies learned it in 1917." That during the Imperial régime there was a great deal of misrule—"statesmen were few," Dr. Walsh remarks—is a fact that nobody will deny, but that the responsibility for the "inevitable" finale should be carried as far back as Peter the Great and even further, to the Grand Princes and Czars of Moscow who in the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries united under their sway the scattered Russian principalities, seems a somewhat far-fetched and unconvincing explanation. It is also difficult to accept the contention that "Bolshevism is a natural phase in the evolution of a strictly historical process," especially if Russia's remarkable economic expansion and cultural growth in the decade before the World War is taken into consideration. In the opinion of many observers in 1913 everything augured well for the future. The consequences of an Armageddon which Russia neither felt prepared for, nor willed, no one, of course, could foresee.

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author places the responsibility for its immediate origin on Russia's shoulders. He says: "As early as July 25—before Austria knew what the official Serbian reply would be—Russia had begun the mobilization of 1,100,000 men. And mobilization, under existing conditions, was tantamount to a declaration of war." It is, however, an established fact that Russia's partial mobilization was ordered during the night of July 29-30, that is, after Austria had declared war on Serbia and after instructions to concentrate against Russia had been sent by the Austrian General Staff to the army corps in Galicia. Furthermore, a special Imperial order provided that "commencement of war was to be separate in form from mobilization," and in his telegram to the Kaiser the Czar pledged his word that "the measures do not mean war" and that negotiations should continue.

There are a few other passages in the book which either contain assertions not based on facts (such as about the "treasonable rôle" of Russian representatives abroad) or give data calling for correction. For example, the number of victims on "Bloody Sunday," in 1905, is given by the author as 500 killed and 3,000 wounded, but according to the *Krasnaya Letopis* there were only 96 killed and 330 wounded. However, these and similar points relate chiefly to the pre-revolutionary period, and do not affect the story of the "tremendous upheaval" in which lies the main interest of the work.

Brief Book Reviews

THE DIARY OF JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

Edited by Allan Nevins. New York: Longmans, Green & Co. \$5.00.

"This volume," the editor explains, "is a selection from *The Memoirs of John Quincy Adams, Comprising Portions of His Diary from 1795 to 1848*, published by Charles Francis Adams in twelve large volumes between 1875 and 1877. The work, an unrivaled treasury for the social and political history of the time, has long been out of print and is now rather rare and extremely costly. Its ponderous bulk, moreover, makes it forbidding to the general reader and difficult of use by the ordinary student. The editor has selected from it those passages which seem of the greatest permanent worth, giving emphasis to the materials which throw light on the social background of the period, on J. Q. Adams's character, and on the more dramatic political and diplomatic events of the time. He has hoped thus to present in 600 pages all that the general reader and ordinary student will desire of the diary. The research worker will, of course, always have to consult the entire set." In his introduction Mr. Nevins adds: "In all American political literature there is no record of the kind which approaches this in interest and value. It may safely be said that it, as much as remembrance of any specific public act of John Quincy Adams's, will keep fresh to re-

mote ages the memory of the rotund, short, bald little man, with piercing eyes and the high shrill voice that broke sharply in moments of excitement, who played so varied, so constant and so noble a rôle on the national stage for a long half-century and more."

THE CARDINAL'S MISTRESS. By Benito Mussolini. New York: Albert and Charles Boni. 1928.

In 1909, at the age of 26, the present dictator of Italy was a hack writer on a Socialist weekly in Trent. One of his contributions was a serial called *Claudia Particella, l'Amante del Cardinale*, which achieved instant popularity with the "young dressmakers, office clerks, shop assistants and artisans of the town," according to a biographer, Margherita Sarfatti. This is readily understandable, for *The Cardinal's Mistress* is a historical romance of the Renaissance written in the lurid style of Mrs. Radcliffe and Horace Walpole.

WITHOUT CENSOR. By Thomas M. Johnson. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company. \$5.00.

Mr. Johnson, the Accredited Correspondent for the *New York Sun* with the A. E. F., makes his book notable for telling a great deal that the correspondent's conscience, the censors, and the cause of propaganda kept from the general newspaper reader throughout the war. In addition to describing the offensive in the Meuse-Argonne in more detail than hitherto, the true story of the "Lost Battalion" is told for the first time.

BENJAMIN H. HILL. By Haywood J. Pearce. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. \$3.00.

Mr. Pearce has written almost entirely from the sources a book whose aim is a critical study of the life and work of Benjamin Harvey Hill in secession and reconstruction. "If any public man of note in Georgia was NOT responsible for secession," says Mr. Pearce, "it was Hill." And yet, once secession was an accomplished fact, no man in Georgia worked harder to prevent the eventual defeat of the secessionist movement. The book is also for the student of the Civil War an excellent summary of the part played by the State of Georgia in the work of secession and reconstruction, and an excellent unbiased review of the political course of the events leading up to and following the Civil War. Later Hill became recognized as a "prophet of a New South." From his entrance to Congress in 1875 to his death in 1882, Mr. Pearce declares, "It is safe to say his influence and prestige in the State was second to none. At the time of his death he had achieved national eminence, and he was usually regarded in the North as the outstanding Southern figure in the Congress."

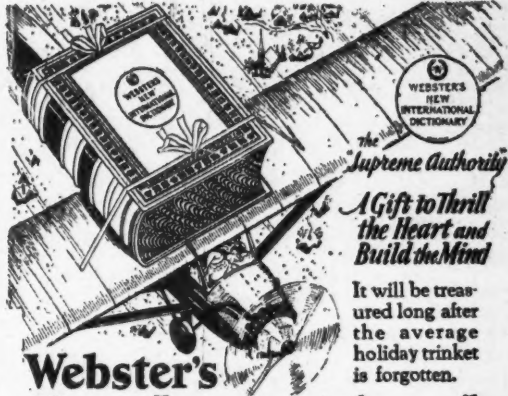
Recent Important Books

By JAMES THAYER GEROULD

LIBRARIAN, PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

BAKER, JOHN EARL. *Explaining China.* New York: Van Nostrand. 1928. \$5.00.

One of the most informing of recent books on China. The author for ten years (1916-26) was adviser of the Chinese Ministry of Communications, and in 1920-21 was in charge of the American Red Cross famine relief.



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BARNES, HARRY ELMER. *Living in the Twentieth Century: A Consideration of How We Got That Way.* Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1928. \$3.50.

A popular presentation of the transformation of civilization due to the factory system, the improvement in machinery, and industrial and social organization.

BEARD, CHARLES A., edited by. *Whither Mankind; A Panorama of Modern Civilization.* New York: Longmans, 1928. \$3.00.

Sixteen essays, each by a recognized authority, on various phases of modern life. Generally expressing the liberal point of view, the authors, while recognizing the evils of our present civilization, are hopeful, rather than pessimistic, in their attitude toward it.

BOOTH, C. D., and ISABELLE. *Italy's Aegean Possessions.* London: Arrowsmith, 1928. 16 shillings.

A historical and descriptive account of Rhodes, Patmos and the other islands in the Dodecanese. About half of the book is given to the political questions involved in their occupation by Italy.

EAGLETON, CLYDE. *The Responsibility of States in International Law.* New York: New York University Press, 1928. \$6.00.

The first treatise in English devoted to the duties as opposed to the rights of sovereign States. Useful for the lawyer who is required to establish an international claim.

EDIB, HALIDE. *The Turkish Ordeal.* New York: Century, 1928. \$4.00.

A second volume of the memoirs of the Turkish feminist, describing, in thrilling detail, her escape from Constantinople in 1919, the organization of the Angora Government, and the campaign which ended with the burning of Smyrna.

EDWARDS, R. H., ARTMAN, J. M., and FISHER, GALEN M. *Undergraduates; a Study of Morale in Twenty-three American Colleges and Universities.* Garden City: Doubleday-Doran, 1928. \$4.00.

An investigation, organized by the Institute of Social and Religious Research, of the student life in our colleges. Based largely on expressions of opinion, both by faculty and students, which are liberally quoted.

ELISON, GRACE. *Turkey Today.* London: Hutchinson, 1928. 18 shillings.

An enthusiastic account of the new Turkey and a defense against those who would give it prematurely a more democratic form of government.

GARRETT, GARET. *The American Omen.* New York: Dutton, 1928. \$2.50.

A reprint of a series of articles which appeared serially in *The Saturday Evening Post* under the title, "The American Book of Wonder." An impassioned defense of the machine age in which we are living.

HARDINGE, SIR ARTHUR H. *A Diplomatist in the East.* London: Cape, 1928. 16 shillings.

Recollections of service in East Africa from 1894 to 1900, and later as Minister to Persia.

KRUIF, PAUL DE. *Hunger Fighters.* New York: Harcourt-Brace, 1928. \$3.00.

A popularly written account of scientific progress in the increase and betterment of our food supply.

MACUIRE, JOHN MACARTHUR. *The Lance of Justice. A Semi-Centennial History of the Legal Aid Society, 1876-1928.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1928. \$3.00.

The Legal Aid Society of New York was the pioneer among organizations concerned with giving the poor an opportunity to secure proper legal advice and a hearing before the courts. It has been the model for similar organizations throughout the country.

MCBAIN, HOWARD LEM. *Prohibition, Legal and Illegal.* New York: Macmillan, 1928. \$2.00.

A very important book on "the largest political issue the American people have grappled with since the Civil War." A legal exposition rather than an addition to propaganda.

MAX, PRINCE OF BADEN. *The Memoirs, translated by W. M. Calder and C. W. H. Sutton.* New York: Scribner, 1928. 2 vols. \$10.00.

The story of the war and of the collapse of the German Empire, told by her last Chancellor.

MEAKIN, WALTER. *The New Industrial Revolution.* London: Gollanez, 1928. 9 shillings.

Some account of the reorganization of German industry following the war and the application to it of the principles of scientific management. The author argues that similar methods should be adopted in Great Britain.

MUSSOLINI, BENITO. *My Autobiography. With a Foreword by Richard Washburn Child.* New York: Scribner, 1928. \$3.50.

Hastily written and fragmentary, but valuable as a reflection of the man as he wishes to be seen.

NATIONAL INDUSTRIAL CONFERENCE BOARD. *The Cost of Living in the United States 1914-1927.* New York: The Board, 1928. \$2.00.

This volume is supplementary to seven others on the same general subject already issued by the board.

RIPPY, J. FRED. *Mexico (American Policies Abroad Series).* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1928. \$1.50.

A brief review of our diplomatic relations with Mexico followed by two essays on the same subject, one written by José Vasconcelos, Minister of Education, the other by Guy Stevens.

SHERMAN, THOMAS H. *Twenty Years With James G. Blaine: Reminiscences by His Private Secretary.* New York: Grafton Press, 1928. \$3.50.

No very great contribution to our knowledge of the man, though in themselves the reminiscences are interesting.

STUART, JUSTIN. *Wayne Wheeler, Dry Boss. An Uncensored Biography.* New York: Revell, 1928. \$3.00.

A sympathetic account of the masterful personality and the life of the man who, more than any other, was responsible for the Eighteenth Amendment and the Volstead Act.

SUN-YAT-SEN. *Memoirs of a Chinese Revolutionary: A Programme of National Reconstruction for China.* Philadelphia: McKay, 1928. \$3.50.

A disappointing volume which promises much more than it performs.

WHITE, WILLIAM ALLEN. *Musks in a Pageant.* New York: Macmillan, 1928. \$5.00.

A breezy, entertaining, frequently flippant, and not always accurate, narrative of our political history from Harrison to Coolidge.



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Published monthly at New York, N. Y., for October 1, 1928, State of New York, County of New York, ss.:

Before me, a notary public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Adolph S. Ochs, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the publisher of CURRENT HISTORY and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of Aug. 24, 1912, embodied in Section 411, Postal Laws and Regulations, to wit:

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Sworn to and subscribed before me this first day of October, 1928.
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TO AND FROM OUR READERS

[The editor assumes no responsibility for unsolicited manuscripts unless accompanied by return postage. Anonymous communications will be disregarded, but the names of correspondents will be withheld from publication upon request.]

In the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* of Oct. 21, 1928, Alfred von Wegerer, Germany's semi-official spokesman on the war guilt controversy and editor of the *Kriegsschuldfrage*, in an article discussing the latest phases of the question, contributes an interesting comment on the debate between Senator Henry de Jouvenel and Dr. Friedrich Rosen, which appeared in the September issue of CURRENT HISTORY. Herr von Wegerer refers to M. de Jouvenel's article as follows:

It shows very clearly how dark the situation with regard to the War Guilt question still is in France. Apart from the fact that Jouvenel's article shows an astounding ignorance of the facts, as well as of views now generally accepted as accurate, M. Jouvenel in his article has recourse to methods which show any one who knows the subject thoroughly that his only object is to place on the Central Powers anew the responsibility for the World War. At the end of his exposition of the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand, under the sub-head, "Warns Austria of the Danger," M. Jouvenel repeats the well-known communication of the Serbian Minister in Vienna, M. Yovanovich, to Herr Bilinski, who had charge of the administration of Bosnia; but he refers to it without analyzing the communication itself in detail. He continues with an attempt to support the view of an alleged warning, by pointing out that the warning was published in the *Neuer Wiener Journal* by Herr Flandrak, Press Director in the Austro-Hungarian Ministry of Finance. As a matter of fact, Herr Flandrak, in the article referred to, declares that Bilinski himself considered the ambiguous conversation with the Serbian Minister neither as "an open, nor as an indirect warning."

* * *

MARX'S THEORY OF WAGES

To the Editor of Current History:

It is a pity that a man of Professor Carver's standing should not correctly state theories which he undertakes to refute. In his article on "The Fundamental Error of Marxism," in the October issue of CURRENT HISTORY (page 20), Professor Carver attributes to Marx the so-called iron law of wages, that is, the doctrine that the wage-workers can never get more than enough to enable them to work and reproduce their kind. He correctly states that Marx did not originate this theory, but incorrectly alleges that he accepted it.

In his famous letter on the Gotha Program,

written in 1875, Marx explicitly repudiated this theory of wages, which Lassalle had accepted and sought to popularize. Eight years before that, in a note to the preface of the first edition of *Capital*, he had taken occasion to remark on the "important mistakes" in matters of economic theory contained in that very portion of Lassalle's *Herr Bastiat von Schulze-Delitzsch* in which this already antiquated doctrine had been revamped and rechristened as an "iron law."

Two years earlier still, in his *Value, Price and Profit*, Marx had dealt at length with the theory of wages in a way which completely excludes the view Professor Carver attributes to him. The purpose of this famous brochure was to refute the thesis, advanced by Weston, that real wages cannot be increased within the capitalist system. The theoretical minimum limit of wages, Marx declares, is the cost of the workers' physically necessary subsistence. In practice, this ultimate minimum is seldom reached. Besides the physical element, there is a historical or traditional element to be considered. The practical minimum is the cost of satisfying "certain wants springing from the social condition in which people are placed and reared." There is no theoretical maximum limit, he proceeds, that is, none short of the point at which nothing would be left for the capitalist as such. Between these limits, an immense scale of variation is possible. The tendency of capitalist development, taken by itself, is to push wages down; the tendency of trade unionism and labor legislation is to push them up; and their actual fixation, under any given set of conditions, depends upon the relative strength of the opposing forces.

It is perhaps true that Marx, who died while the labor movement was still in its infancy, underestimated the extent to which real wages could be increased. But his whole system of economic theory, as well as the whole course of his practical activities, is incompatible with the shallow and static conception of wages which Professor Carver imputes to him.

New York.

ALGERNON LEE.

"THE LAW AGAINST MURDER"

To the Editor of *Current History*:

May I point out the very common mistake that is made in referring to "the law against murder," when there is no such law and never was such a law in any country? Very frequently, when the statement is made that Prohibition is a denial of personal liberty and should therefore be repealed, some one jumps up to declare that the laws against murder, theft and robbery should be repealed, because these are likewise in curtailment of one's personal liberties. It is, however, a mistake to say that there are laws against such acts

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as murder, theft and robbery. These acts have always been considered as crimes for which punishment has been prescribed by all governments, but no law was ever enacted to designate them as crimes, as is the case with the use of alcoholic liquors. There are no laws against murder to repeal. Murder is *mala in se*, while taking a drink is *mala prohibita*. Therefore, why continue to consider the two as being alike?

Minot, N. D. J. A. DANIELSON.

* * *

RESTRICTIONS ON IMMIGRATION

To the Editor of Current History:

In the November number of CURRENT HISTORY Congressman LaGuardia, in an attempt to refute Mr. Orebaugh's defense of the National Origins section of the present Immigration Law, makes various assertions which should not be allowed to pass unchallenged.

In the first place, Mr. LaGuardia is so well known as a fiery protagonist of unrestricted immigration that any denial from him of the alien influence directed against our Immigration Law carries little weight. We need not go into this.

Secondly, in referring to the report of the committee of three secretaries presented to the Senate, Mr. LaGuardia omits reference to a more favorable report originally forwarded to that body and later withdrawn as "inaccurate" (by a most amazing coincidence) immediately following the lobby attacks by various alien-minded groups on the Senate rostrum, with Senator Copeland as spokesman. Moreover, veiled threats of political punishment to dissenting lawmakers were made by these same foreign and affiliated organizations.

By the way, is it possible that a political leader such as Congressman LaGuardia is unaware of the tendency on the part of so-called statesmen and politicians to pull the wool over the eyes of the people, to play for the "foreign vote" or to make a football of any domestic question on the eve of an election? If so, the Major is extremely ingenuous.

The actual fact is that the three secretaries obviously had little or nothing to do with the work of determining the National Origins of our people and the proportionately corresponding quotas, for they delegated this admittedly expert job to a sub-committee of census and Immigration Bureau specialists and statisticians under the able direction of the Assistant-Director of the Census Bureau, Dr. Joseph A. Hill. The report of the sub-committee should be read and reread by every adult American citizen as conclusive evidence of the arbitrary action of the three secretaries in refusing to accept the findings of their own

chosen experts. The report of Dr. Hill and his associates declared, in brief, that their methods and findings were "statistically correct according to the intent and meaning of the law." Also it would be well for every American who has the welfare of his country at heart to read Hearing No. 69.2.1 to which Major LaGuardia refers, as a commentary on the methods and effrontery of alien-minded minorities in this country today!


Contrary to Mr. LaGuardia's inference, I submit that any intelligent American can comprehend the basic principle and obvious fairness of the National Origins plan of apportioning the immigration quotas without delving deeply into the scientific analysis of the Government experts. A jury need not understand the technicalities and procedure of the law in order to bring in a verdict based on clear logic.

I suspect that Major LaGuardia would be hard put to it to suggest an equitable substitute for the National Origins provision. Surely he does not favor the indefinite continuance of the temporary quotas based on the merely foreign-born census of 1890, for here the Italian or other Southeastern European quotas fare no better than under the National Origins permanent quotas. We can only suspect that the Major has his tongue in his cheek and that, with other protagonists of unrestricted immigration, he foresees that once the permanent section of the Immigration law is repealed, an arbitrary and indefensible plan based on a foreign-born census alone will fall like a house of cards before the attacks of the anti-restrictionists.

Aside from the unsportsmanlike remark of Mr. LaGuardia that the National Origins plan is "the creation of a narrow mind, nurtured by a hating heart," the fact remains that the National Origins feature of the law favors no particular ancestral stock and is based only on the ancestral make-up of the American people, native as well as foreign-born, as at present constituted. It is only against the temporary quotas that the charge of racial discrimination or favoritism can be brought, and, according to the tenets of the law, this will be remedied when the permanent quotas come into effect on July 1 next. Moreover, Major LaGuardia should understand that, when the law was enacted, it was foreseen that there would be certain changes in passing from the temporary to the permanent quotas. Hence it is ridiculous to assert that any particular country's quota is being "reduced."

Let it be said here that there has been no "panic" on the part of the truly conscientious supporters of the National Origins provision

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